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The Shape of Things

THE NATION'S SUPPLEMENT ON PALESTINE, which makes up Part II of this issue, outlines the complex scheme of Near East relationships within which the Palestine problem is set. The supplement is an abridged version of a longer memorandum presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the meetings at Flushing and Lake Success attempts were made to restrict the discussion to the central task for which the special Assembly was called: to select a Commission of Investigation and define its terms of reference. However, as the debate proceeded, it became increasingly difficult to separate substance from procedure. Many of the issues dealt with in the supplement have already been injected into the discussion—the terms of the Mandate, the claims of the Arabs to an independent Arab state in Palestine, the connection between Palestine and the Jewish refugees still in D. P. camps, the case for a Jewish National Home. Moreover, the United Nations sessions brought to the surface some of the underground currents of power politics that have bedeviled attempt after attempt to reach a permanent solution of the Palestine problem. As we go to press, it appears that the terms of reference will be sufficiently broad to allow the commission to do its job effectively. We earnestly suggest that when the field is surveyed and all claims have been examined, the solution recommended to the General Assembly in September should follow the lines laid down in the *Nation* memorandum and supplement: a plan of partition that will allow a fair basis of economic and political existence for Jews and Arabs; an interim plan for trusteeship under a United Nations High Commission; and the immediate facilitation of immigration into the Jewish area of Palestine for the Jewish population now in the camps of Europe. This scheme will not satisfy completely all or any of the elements in the conflict, but given a spirit of tolerance and the firm backing of United Nations authority, we feel it can be made to work.

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THE WILDCAT STRIKE IN THE NATIONALIZED Renault factory, which precipitated the French political crisis, was supported by left Socialist and non-Stalin Marxists, but was originally condemned by the Communists. When the strike assumed major proportions, the Communists, in order to avoid being outflanked on the left, did an about-face. They backed the workers' demands for increased wages, thus threatening the anti-inflation program of the coalition government based on frozen wages and lowered prices. Because this issue vitally affected the material interests of French workers, the Communist deputies were unable to repeat the tactics used in the debates on Indo-China and Madagascar when they opposed the government's policy without breaking the coalition. Instead, they refused a vote of confidence and also refused to quit the coalition, forcing Ramadier either to resign or take the responsibility of a rupture. Ramadier, having won the vote of confidence, chose to eject the Communists. The crisis has clearly exposed the weaknesses inherent in government by party coalition instead of by a parliamentary majority. But its main significance is the split between the two big Marxist parties. The Socialists remain faithful to the "Blum experiment," while the Communists now prefer to exploit the widespread discontent arising from the ineffectiveness of the government's efforts to lower prices. French economic life and reconstruction are utterly dependent on dollar imports. Any further weakening of the franc as a result of increased inflation will doom the Monnet plan. The Communist tactic in the present crisis required that they accept this risk in order to strengthen popular backing at the expense of the Socialists—although the Communists, hoping to have their cake and eat it, hated to leave the government.

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BUT THE SOCIALISTS ALSO FEEL UNEASY. Premier Ramadier's decision to drop the Communist ministers was approved in the Socialist Party Congress by a very narrow margin, and among those who voted against it were some of Blum's most faithful followers. They expressed anxiety lest the government's shift toward the center might later oblige the party itself to move in that direction, risking the loss of a good number of its affiliates and much popular strength. It should not be forgotten that since the Congress of Montrouge a year ago the party has twice reaffirmed its policy of collaboration with the Communists, or that its leadership, including the able Daniel Mayer, was ousted as a result. This time Guy Mollet, who succeeded Mayer, led the opposition to Ramadier. He answered Blum's argument that hesitation would play into the hands of those "who

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are working to instal personal power"—a clear allusion to De Gaulle—by saying that the best way to meet that danger was to maintain unity between the two big parties of the left. It is not, said Mollet, with the weak Radicals of Herriot and an M. R. P. half republican and half pro-Vatican that the danger of a rightist dictatorship is going to be stopped. But Blum and Ramadier had on their side the terrific argument of France's present financial situation and the danger that a prolongation of the political crisis might lead to economic collapse. As often before in French history, bread had the last word. During the past two years Ambassador Caffrey has asked the State Department time and again for maximum American aid to France. But little was done and that little, too late. American wheat is now going to France but under the widely held suspicion, reported by Harold Callender in the New York *Times*, that its arrival was timed to strengthen the hand of the conservatives and further weaken the now divided left. The announcement of the $250,000,000 loan to France by the World Bank will help stabilize both the franc and the center coalition.

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THE AMERICAN MILITARY TRIBUNAL IN Nürnberg is to try twenty-four top officials of I. G. Farben, the giant German chemical trust, on charges of fomenting and waging aggressive warfare, mass murder, plunder and spoliation. A 20,000-word indictment filed on May 3 by the chief war-crimes prosecutor, Brigadier-General Telford Taylor, backs these charges with a formidable bill of particulars. It will be difficult for the defense to claim that Farben was just an ordinary business which did no more than obey the instructions of its government. The indictment shows that, even before Hitler came to power, the directors of Farben had reached an agreement with him for mutual support. From a very early date every phase of the trust's production was synchronized with the plans of the German General Staff. Its world-wide organization was completely integrated with the Nazi foreign-propaganda and espionage agencies. Its cartel arrangements with more than 2,000 major industrial concerns in the United States, Britain, and other countries were used to obtain the benefits of foreign patents for the Nazi war machine and to prevent or limit the production of strategic materials in those countries. "No German government could have planned and waged war without the full, wholehearted, and unstinted cooperation of Farben," the indictment declares. And in return for this cooperation the trust reaped rich rewards. Between 1932 and 1942 its profits rose from 71 million marks to 571 million. It shared the loot of the conquered countries. It profited from the exploitation of slave-labor, building a synthetic-rubber plant to employ inmates of the Oswecim concentration camp, a plant where "sometimes over 100 persons died at their work every day from sheer exhaustion."

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FARBEN'S STORY WOULD BE INCOMPLETE without reference to its agreements with American corporations and we are glad to note that General Taylor has not neglected this subject. "Farben's pre-war activities," we are told, "were carefully designed to weaken the United States as an arsenal of democracy." Specific instances are cited of its arrangements with Alcoa and Dow Chemical, with Du Pont, with Standard Oil of New Jersey, and with other companies. One illuminating transaction mentioned was a "loan" of 500 tons of tetraethyl lead, used for high-octane gasoline, which Farben secured from the Ethyl Export Corporation just before Hitler's march into Czechoslovakia. According to the indictment, the purposes of this deal were "misrepresented." That we can well believe, but the deception of American businessmen in this manner, at a time when even Neville Chamberlain's eyes had been opened, suggests an almost wilful innocence on their part. In fact, the only reasonable excuse that Farben's American collaborators can offer is that they were hoodwinked and outwitted. However, this plea would be damaging to pride and prestige, and some of them are still hoping to get away with bland denials. Robert T. Haslam, vice-president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, declares that his company had no cartel arrangements with Farben, but merely agreements for the purchase and exchange of patents—a fine distinction, indeed, considering Farben's use of patents in suppressing competition. Willard H. Dow, chairman of Dow Chemical, is reported as saying: "We never had any contract with Farben." In view of evidence turned up by the Truman and Bone committees of Dow-Farben agreements limiting Dow's magnesium sales in Europe, this is an amazing statement.

*

IF MUTINY IN THE BATTLE FOR PEACE COULD be designated a crime, Representative Taber and his supporters in the House Appropriations Committee would be under indictment. On the meanest of pretexts they have brushed aside Secretary Marshall's able appeal for the State Department's Information and Cultural Service. They have decided that the Voice of America must be silenced, that American libraries of information abroad must be scrapped and that the program of telling the world about the United States through radio, motion picture, graphic arts, and student exchanges must be ended. We have long suspected the economy group in Congress of possessing minds so moronic as to be incapable of appreciating the simplest elements of American culture. But in an age when the new mass media have stepped up the efficiency of international propaganda, we find it incredible that even this group should be willing to leave to the Russians, the British, the French, the Arabs, and the Argentines the responsibility of explaining American foreign and domestic policy to the world. If Mr. Taber's cuts are sustained it will mean that the nation which contributed $330,000,000,000 to victory in war is prepared to surrender its claim to leadership in the battle for peace in order to "save" $31,000,000. The House has one more opportunity to redeem itself. By voting for Representative Mundt's bill, now in a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee, it can authorize the Senate to restore the foreign-broadcast fund to the State Department's budget.

*

AN UNCONFIRMED QUOTATION WITHOUT quotation marks is a journalistic phenomenon to be handled with care, but if Ford Frick's sermon to some St. Louis baseball players was nearly as pithy and as courageous as the statement attributed to him by the New York *Herald Tribune* last Friday, the president of the National League is highly to be praised. "If you do this, you will be suspended from the league," Mr. Frick is reported to have ordered owner Sam Breadon to tell a group of his St. Louis Cardinals who were fomenting a players' strike against the presence in the league of Brooklyn's Negro first baseman, Jack Roosevelt Robinson. And then he is said to have added: "I do not care if half the league strikes. . . . All [who do] will be suspended and I don't care if it wrecks the National League for five years." For the president of a multi-million-dollar industry thus to imperil his own security in the interest of decency is, to say the least, remarkable. "This is the United States of America," Frick's reported declaration continues, "and one citizen has as much right to play as another. The National League will go down the line with Robinson, whatever the consequences. You will find, if you go through with your intention, that you have been guilty of complete madness." Madness, indeed—for, transcending ball parks, paranoia lies at the root of all race prejudices. Those who would fight to eliminate this insanity from where it least belongs, the realm of sport, earn our unqualified admiration. While congratulating Mr. Frick—we hope not prematurely—we extend our compliments to Stanley Woodward and the sports staff of the *Herald Tribune* for breaking the full story. Ford Frick's words, as paraphrased by Mr. Woodward, might well be set in bronze in baseball's Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, N. Y.

*

"IT OCCURS TO ME AS I LOOK OUT OF THE window"—we are quoting from a letter, dated May 7 and addressed to John Taber, Republican chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, which was deposited on our desk by the north wind—"that if your committee really wants to save the government's money it might cast a weather eye on the Weather Bureau. The bureau's record for the past six weeks has been unimpressive, to say the least. One had only to read the forecasts and then prepare for the exact opposite. (You may have noticed yourself that at least every other day it has

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prophesied good Republican weather but all we've had has been Democratic or worse.) What is needed is a return to first principles and the methods of weather forecasting on which this great nation was founded. The Weather Bureau should be abolished. Then the government should make it compulsory for every citizen to put up a weathervane and be his own prophet. This would step up production, foster artistic talent, and insure more accurate forecasts. No one in this country is so untutored as not to know that when the wind blows hard enough to make the leaves turn their backs outward it is going to rain. And no one is so poor, so ill-housed, or so unemployed—the more unemployed the better—as not to be able to go out of doors, lick his finger, hold it up in the air, and determine which way the wind is blowing. (Lacking a finger he could use the nearest politician.)"

New Coalition for Old

IN THE gloom of last November we took what hope we could from a comforting political law, to wit, that winners make tactical blunders and losers make coalitions. The blunders were forthcoming from the start, and now the second and more constructive half of the expectation is beginning to take substance. For at least six of its twelve years, the Roosevelt Administration was harried and blocked by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress. Together they made up a majority and constituted an opposition Congress in all but name. The Republicans found an easy unity in the common desire to discredit their opponents, while the Democrats suffered the splits that go with responsibility. Now the shoe is on the other foot.

The Senate's rejection of the proposal to curtail industry-wide bargaining is not the first defeat for the Taft leadership—confirmation of Lilienthal had that distinction—but it is the first instance of a split in Republican ranks on an issue involving broad policy. It is too early to speak of the combination of forces that beat the G. O. P. leadership as a coalition, but the vote on this crucial aspect of the Senate labor bill indicates a fundamental division of opinion among the Republicans, and one that will inevitably show up again.

Leading the revolt against Taft were Senators Morse of Oregon and Ives of New York. With Aiken of Vermont and Tobey of New Hampshire they constitute the core of the Republican contingent in the potential coalition. To this nucleus are attracted the two Massachusetts Senators, Saltonstall and Lodge, who recently pleaded in private with his fellow-Republicans for "national" thinking rather than partisan; Thye of Minnesota, who represents Stassen much more reliably than does his colleague, Senator Ball; Knowland of California; North Dakota's erratic Langer; and Cooper of Kentucky, who was elected with the support of the liberal Louisville *Courier-Journal*. For the purpose of defeating the labor amendment these were joined by five others, none of whom can be counted on to stay with the contingent consistently. Vandenberg, who supported Taft in this instance, may be expected to vote with the Democrats on foreign issues and lean over backward to support his own party domestically by way of compensation. With only eleven Democrats siding with the G. O. P. on the Taft amendment, it will be seen that the new grouping could wipe out the Republicans' six-vote advantage and ironically give the Administration more support in the Senate than it enjoyed in the Seventy-ninth Congress.

One cannot assume that this will happen as a regular thing, or that such a coalition would be nearly as solid as the Northern tory-Southern bourbon alliance of recent years, lacking as it does the common target for hatred that Roosevelt so generously provided. But it should make up in shifting personnel what it lacks in consistency. The Hickenloopers and Smiths will join it on issues of common decency, such as the Lilienthal affair; the Vandenbergs, Lodges, and Balls will join it on matters of foreign policy; and at least some of the Westerners, like their colleagues in the House, can be counted on to come in when the party madly tries to cut the heart out of public power and reclamation projects. The cast may shift, but the play will go on.

From this circumstance the Administration may draw several heartening conclusions, at least as far as the Senate is concerned. One is that it need not depend for social legislation on such naive arrangements with the opposition as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill. Elsewhere in this issue Charles Abrams shows how futile —indeed how fatal—such alliances can be. If the President and his lieutenants on Capitol Hill want housing legislation, they would do well to let Taft bury his compromise measure, as he plainly intends to do, call off all deals, and fight for a housing bill that will really mean something. The same goes for the health, education, and other social legislation bearing the Taft trademark.

Another conclusion to be drawn is that while a possible liberal coalition may not be firmly cemented, the G. O. P. has much more to fear from it than the Democrats had to fear from the reactionary one that plagued Roosevelt. It is not so easily put aside. No matter how alienated Southern Congressmen may have been by this or that aspect of the New Deal, their constituents were bound to remain faithful to the Democratic Party and to Roosevelt at election time. Taft cannot afford to be as cavalier, because Republican legislators can be kicked around by the party leadership only up to a point before serious repercussions are reported in the home districts. After all, Republican voters, except perhaps in Maine and Vermont, always have an alternative.

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The Mufti's Henchmen

A Who's Who

THE appearance of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee at Lake Success was probably inevitable as soon as the Jewish Agency had won the right to participate in the debate. Although the Arab case had been argued exhaustively by the five member Arab states, nobody challenged the propriety of hearing from representative Palestinian Arabs as well. It was a different and most questionable matter, however, to convene a special sitting of the General Assembly in order to reissue the invitation to the Arab Higher Committee in a form which would invest that body with the same diplomatic status as the Jewish Agency. The two organizations are totally dissimilar, and the distinction between them should have been recognized.

The functions and representative character of the Jewish Agency were established in the Palestine Mandate; they have been crystallized in twenty-five years of governmental experience. The Agency is an elected body, democratically controlled by Jewish organizations in and out of Palestine. By contrast, the Arab Higher Committee represents nothing more stable than a deal among leaders of the various Arab factions in Palestine—and the will of the Grand Mufti. It has suffered several suppressions, revivals, and reorganizations; only last summer it broke into two rival parts which were later welded together under the absolute control of the Mufti after his mysterious return to Cairo. The Arab Higher Committee has no legal status, no administrative or other governmental functions, no representative character, and the maneuvers that finally landed it on the same juridical level with the Jewish Agency have created a precedent which may cause plenty of trouble later on.

For the legal aspects of the matter cannot be disentangled from the political ones. Once we establish the fact that the Arab Higher Committee is not a representative body but a selected group of Arab politicians, we have to examine the political nature of the men themselves. And when we do this we discover that the Arab Higher Committee is an almost exact equivalent, in Middle Eastern terms, of the cabal that ruled Hitler's Germany.

If this sounds far-fetched, we urge our readers to turn to the record. The story of the Mufti has been widely published, at least in outline. An explicit but condensed account is contained in the memorandum to the General Assembly which appears as a supplement with this issue of *The Nation*. A much fuller account, documented from the captured files of the Mufti himself and of the German high command, has just been submitted to the General Assembly by the Nation Associates. The documents included in the report are from a collection of many thousand found at the end of the war by the American military authorities in Germany. Most of the originals are in the possession of the Department of State. They substantiate to the last detail the charge that the Mufti not only was an Axis agent throughout the war but was himself largely responsible for the Nazi policy of exterminating the Jews of Europe.

The membership of the Palestine Arab delegation to the Assembly was announced, not in Palestine, but from the Mufti's headquarters in Cairo. The persons named were the following: Emil Ghouri, Henry Katan, Wasef Kamal, Rajai Husseini, Isa Nakhleh, Rasam Khalidi. Among these delegates, four are known as intimate associates of the Mufti in his pro-Axis exploits. It is interesting, however, that the man chosen to present the Arab case last week, Henry Katan (spelled Cattan in the New York press) is the delegate least closely connected with the Mufti. Though less notorious than their chief, these men have dossiers fat with crimes and violent acts of all degrees. We print below a brief "Who's Who" of four of the appointed delegates. It shows better than anything else the political character of the Arab high command. For the record of the Mufti himself, turn to pages 597-600 of the memorandum.

Jamal Husseini, nephew of the Mufti and his right-hand man. Jamal Husseini has been head of the Palestine Arab Party, the Mufti's party, since 1935. He helped the Mufti organize the 1936-39 uprisings in Palestine and in 1939 joined his chief in Bagdad. There he organized the pro-Axis fifth column which brought about the Iraqi rebellion of 1941. With the Mufti he fled to Teheran, but was captured there and interned in Rhodesia on account of his pro-Axis activities. He was finally released in February, 1946, and allowed to return to Palestine, where he became vice-chairman of the Arab Higher Committee.

Emil Ghouri has long been active in extremist politics in Palestine. During the Iraqi revolt he was in charge of propaganda for the Mufti. A British Intelligence report in 1941 cited Ghouri as one of a group "who are responsible for propaganda, intrigue, and subversive activities inside and outside Iraq." After his return to Palestine Ghouri became a member of the Arab Higher Committee, although he had been forbidden to take part in political activities. He is the organizer and political leader of the underground Arab army and is alleged to be one of those responsible for internal terror against Arab opponents of the Mufti and Arabs who sell land to the Jews. He advocates that all Jews who came to Palestine after 1918 be regarded as foreigners and be deprived of rights in an independent Arab Palestine.

Rasem Khalidi, a member of a well-known Jerusalem family and a former Palestine government official, has been a close associate of the Husseini family and particularly of the Mufti. In 1936, at the outbreak of the Axis-sponsored

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Arab uprisings in Palestine, he was a member of the most intimate inner circle of Haj Amin el Husseini. In 1937 he was a member of an underground committee which directed Arab terrorism in Palestine. After his arrest in 1938, he fled to Syria and then to Iraq, where he joined the Mufti in organizing the Iraqi rebellion of 1941. After its failure he escaped to Ankara and thence to Italy and Germany. In the midst of the war, in 1943, he served as an announcer on the Axis-Arabic radio station in Athens. Since 1944 he has been a member of the Mufti's personal entourage, first in Berlin and later in Paris and Egypt. He has recently been refused an American visa by the State Department.

Wasef Kamal, a teacher by profession, is known for his extremist propaganda among his students. He was a member of the Arab National Committee in Nablus and played an active role in the organization of the 1936 riots. Arrested in that year, he soon escaped to Transjordan and later to Iraq. With the Mufti, he played an important role in the Iraqi rebellion of 1941 against the British.

From Iraq he escaped to Turkey, where, during the early part of the war, he served as a paid agent of the German Secret Service. In 1943 he went to Italy and Germany, where he continued his work as one of the closest collaborators of the Mufti. He returned to Syria in April, 1946. He was one of the few Arab leaders excluded from the amnesty of November, 1946, because he was regarded as so dangerous.

In April, 1947, Wasef Kamal was appointed by the Arab Higher Committee a member of a propaganda delegation to the United States. He has been attending the sessions of the United Nations.

Such are the men who claimed—and have received—recognition from the United Nations. Their acts establish their place among the worst of the Axis war criminals. Their legal credentials are pretty poor, but their political credentials are unspeakable. For the United Nations to accept these henchmen of the Mufti as official spokesmen of the Arab cause is to deal with its enemies and the allies of its enemies. The consequences will become even more evident in the months ahead.

We Need a Better Housing Bill

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

LAST week a death sentence was passed on the housing bill sponsored jointly by Senator Taft and by Democratic Senators Wagner and Ellender. Senator Taft has ruled that a G. O. P. policy committee will pass on all his social legislation and that he will "abide by the composite Republican decision." The chairman of the G. O. P. committee is Senator Taft himself. The composite Republican decision is that there will be no housing bill. Mr. Taft's health bill is ruled out, too. So is his education bill, which like the housing bills had liberal co-sponsorship. A curious alliance between liberalism and reaction to promote social legislation thus meets its end.

More is at stake than aid to housing, health, and education. The question today is whether the chief social issues of the last fourteen years will be properly drawn in the 1948 election. Unless the tactics of the liberals in Congress are shifted to point up these issues in their true focus, the movement for decent housing and for other social legislation will be lost by default and the American people will not even have had a chance to vote their protest.

The lesson, bitter as it is, must be acted upon before it is too late. The coalition must be ended. The Democratic Senators who sponsored the Taft legislation on housing and education should withdraw their names at once and offer measures that truly reflect the people's needs. They must no longer support rump reform bills, whittled down to win the Ohio Senator's co-sponsorship. His apostasy has released them from any obligation to stand by his dubious credo. Tackled properly and in time, the liberal misadventure can yet be turned into a G. O. P. boomerang. The circumstances behind the strange bedfellowship on housing should be made known to the American people.

The low-rent housing program that is the heart of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill is neither revolutionary nor new. It simply proposes another appropriation for slum clearance and housing such as was authorized in 1933, 1937, and 1938. Low-rent housing was never intended as a device for relieving a national housing shortage but was looked to as a means of energizing the economy during the depression and later on as a social reform designed to provide decent shelter for the one-third of the population that was "ill housed." The program was suspended during the war, but as victory drew near Senators Wagner and Ellender prepared to ask for an additional appropriation for local housing authorities. In the course of his own investigation into housing Senator Taft, after extensive hearings, veered toward favoring such a proposal if it could be held down to an experimental authorization.

A bill to provide additional public housing was then drafted and became the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. The dominant purpose of the program was still to aid slum dwellers and to bolster the post-war economy, which was expected to hit a depression during the reconversion period. The depression, however, did not materialize; instead, the end of the war brought a housing famine. After demobilization eighteen million people were living

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doubled up, partly because they could not afford homes but mainly because they could not find them. Yet in the face of the most desperate housing shortage in American history, the low-rent housing program was held down substantially to the social program originally planned for the expected slump. The Senator from Ohio would permit no more than a token appropriation under his name. A "yield insurance" program was added, purporting to meet the needs of the long-neglected middle-income group by inducing lending institutions to build with a government guaranty of profits, but little housing was ever expected from that quarter. Another provision authorized mortgage insurance on homes costing $6,300 or less and reduced the required equity payment to 5 per cent; this also became useless as building costs skyrocketed. With a small authorization for housing research, slum reclamation, mortgage aid, and rural housing included, the bill came to be known as a "comprehensive housing program."

The measure was a compromise. It was experimental, not definitive. Its most important feature was its provisions for clearing slums and providing 500,000 homes for slum families in four years. As the only measure with a chance of passing, it merited support, and received it from social and consumer groups throughout the country. But nothing in the program made even a pretense of solving the veterans' housing problem adequately, brought down costs of home construction as the Wyatt program sought to do, or took care of the housing needs of the low- and middle-income groups on the scale required.

Other measures were needed to supplement it, but these never received party support. One, introduced by Representative Benjamin J. Rabin, would empower the government to continue the emergency war-housing program; another, introduced by Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, would authorize the local housing authorities to build for veterans. Enactment of these bills was vital. But liberal support for them might have meant divided support on the "comprehensive" bi-partisan bill. Moreover, since the latter had the approval of the Republican and Democratic leadership as a "comprehensive" housing program, no other bill had a chance of passing. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner measure thus became a bottleneck as well as a banner, and for two years the effort to put through a program suited to America's critical housing needs had to be held under.

It should not be charged that Senator Taft malevolently lured the liberal Senators into their present hapless position. Nor should it be thought that the Ohio Senator was insincere in his sympathy for slum dwellers. After scrutinizing the grim facts of death, disease, and crime in the slums, he saw no other way to shelter the low-income family decently, and somewhat in the tradition of Bismarck and the British Conservatives, he felt it was entirely realistic to make a token appropriation "for reasons of state."

But if Mr. Taft did not deliberately set out to trap the liberals into surrendering their most dramatic political issue, he could not have rendered a nobler service to the reactionaries in his party than he did by holding down the Democrats' demands and then throttling them. Having taken the wind out of the liberals' sails, he scuttles his ship and leaves his mates tangled up with the jetsam. An issue with the greatest public appeal has been suppressed and devitalized, and the liberal cause in America has been deprived of what might have been one of its most valuable props in the drama of 1948.

The failure of President Truman to give housing the support it needs and his desertion of Wilson W. Wyatt and his program played directly into the hands of Senator Taft and his associates. Any support the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill has received has come from the liberal Democratic Senators and a small group of enlightened Republicans led by Senator Tobey who have insisted on bringing it to the floor. Mr. Taft is now seeking to entomb his own bill.

A housing program to satisfy the nation's minimum needs should be framed immediately. Essential provisions are (1) that the appropriations for public housing contained in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner legislation be quadrupled; (2) that the government be authorized to build housing for all veterans not taken care of by the private builder, at prices they can afford. With mortgage interest reduced to government rates and the amortization period extended, many veterans will at last be able to buy a home. The Rabin and Douglas bills should be adopted or incorporated in a comprehensive measure.

A long-range program must also be prepared. With housing top news today, the American people are prepared to move ahead. There should be a plan to clear every slum within a prescribed period. The defunct home-building industry should be put on a sound footing so that it can meet the demand for homes and fulfil its vital role in the national economy. The Wyatt program, which was a start in that direction, should be revived and expanded by order of the President. A planned, full-scale, federally aided building program sponsored by local housing authorities would help to standardize specifications and make possible quantity building.

Our housing needs in the next fifteen years will be greater than half the present housing supply. If new developments are properly planned, we can have cities worthy of our wealth, our energy, and our culture, cities fit to live in and work in.

Lack of confidence in the housing program of Great Britain's Conservative Party helped to bring about its unexpected overthrow in the wake of its military victory. The same issue, properly presented to the American people, may turn the political tide in America.

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Behind the Viet-Nam Revolt

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Paris, May 2

"*NOTRE politique a cessé d'être claire,*" said Daniel Halévy in the days of the Third Republic. The *Journal de Genève,* commenting on Holland's difficulties in Indonesia, recalls this remark and adds, "A slackening is taking place in public opinion which signifies indifference, *laissez aller,* lassitude; the controversy yields to enigma and imbroglio." If this is true at The Hague, how much more is it true in Paris with regard to the fighting in Indo-China. It is symptomatic of the present ideological disarray of the French that the problem of Indo-China has become confused beyond words, an issue so controversial that it has rocked the government, while in the country at large one finds only apathy and doubt.

And yet, seen against the background of other events in Asia, in Africa, and on islands overseas, the meaning of Indo-China is almost painfully simple. The nineteenth century was a European century. Respect for property, national sovereignty, the balance of power, and the prerogative of dispensing "civilization" among lesser peoples—these were the assumptions upon which the power of Western Europe was built. But two wars in a single generation have shattered the stability that seemed so permanent. The white man, pitted against himself in ruthless slaughter, has lost face in the eyes of the yellow, black, and brown; he has become bankrupt in lands where with magnificent self-assurance he once bore his "burden." As Paul Reynaud said the other day in the National Assembly, "the two greatest powers today do not possess colonial empires—or have theirs at home—and are hostile to the fact of colonies." The satellite is replacing the colony; and the old empires, instead of yielding to an international order, are falling beneath the blows of new nationalisms.

Indo-China must be looked upon as deriving partly from India and partly from China. Western Indo-China, comprising the provinces of Cambodia and Laos, has for centuries been menaced by aggressive neighbors, the Siamese to the west and the Annamese to the east; the Cambodians and the Laotians have therefore remained mostly loyal to the French, whose protection they need. The eastern part is more Chinese; Viet-Nam, indeed, means "Land of the South"—that is, south of China. The majority of its inhabitants are Annamese conquerors of about two centuries ago who pushed the indigenous population, the Mois, into the mountains.

Since the 1860's, when the French established control over Indo-China, new patterns have been superimposed on the old. A whole population of half-breeds, the Eurasians, has grown up. At the turn of the century Indo-China supported barely 17,000,000 natives and 13,000 whites, as compared with 23,000,000 natives, 100,000 Eurasians, and 35,000 French civilians today; and the population has virtually doubled since 1860. A study of the physical changes is beyond the scope of this article; still, the importance of the transformation can best be told with a few figures: In 1860 Saigon exported less than 60,000 tons of rice a year; in 1935 it exported 1,700,000 tons. The rice fields of Cochin-China, which covered 250,000 hectares in 1865, now cover 2,300,000 hectares. In addition, the country has acquired 3,053 kilometers of railways, 32,000 kilometers of roads, and a maximum electrical supply of more than 80,000,000 kilowatt-hours a year.

All these changes are stamped in the very soil of the country; they cannot be conjured away by propaganda or theory. It is begging the question to say that the French colonials are criminals and exploiters, just as it is to claim that the Annamese are butchers and assassins. Indo-China, like any other country, presents a complex design, with large patches of right and wrong clearly discernible.

In reviewing the present situation in Indo-China, the observer is bound to recall certain salient facts, the first of which is that the troubles are a direct outgrowth of the war and the Japanese occupation. In the Orient, where loss of face always has immense consequences, defeat and humiliation such as those suffered by the French will inevitably be paid for dearly. The wonder is not that the resentment of the Annamese exploded when it did, but that the upheaval was not even more violent. The reason may lie in the fact that the Annamese, despite the best efforts of the Japanese, were never fully united against the French; the bulk of them, particularly in the south, like peasants everywhere, were relatively immune to nationalistic agitation, while the more conscious elements were divided into factions. The Viet Minh, in fact, early in 1946 was obliged to eliminate its political rivals, notably the pro-Chinese parties, Cong Minh Hoï and Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dong, before it could effectively organize resistance to the French.

Mystery surrounds the exact nature of the Viet Minh's relations with the Japanese. The Viet-Namese always heatedly maintain that they were as anti-Japanese as anyone; at the recent Asiatic Relations Conference at New Delhi Dr. Thach, Viet-Namese delegate, denied the presence of Japanese elements in the Nationalist

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armed forces. The truth seems to be that Viet Minh hostility to the Japanese was never very effective. It is a fact, at any rate, that on August 18, 1945, when the Japanese abandoned their puppet government in Hanoi, they were careful to instal—for although they had capitulated, their unbeaten army still held sway in Indo-China—the Viet Minh in its place. If the French on their arrival were faced with a political *fait accompli*, it was the work of the Japanese. Moreover, the French have found a number of Japanese among the Viet-Namese prisoners they have taken.

As soon as the Viet Minh's leadership in the resistance against the French was established, the movement quickly assumed a national character. And the French, hoping to build an Indo-Chinese federation within the framework of the French Union, recognized the Viet-Nam Republic and invited its President Ho Chi Minh, to Paris. At this distance it is quite impossible to know just how representative the Viet Minh really is. The movement undoubtedly has a powerful appeal, but so long as it indulges in terrorism among the Annamese themselves, and particularly among the Cochin-Chinese, the extent and sincerity of its backing will remain unknown. The scorched-earth policy so often applied by the Annamese resistants automatically contributes to their strength, because when you burn a man's house and the field he works you are in a position to force him to follow your cause. Only a popular plebiscite, free from threat and coercion, could give the answer; but that is obviously out of the question at present.

One thing is certain: Cochin-China is the granary of the country; the other provinces, if cut off from Cochin-China, would either starve or be dependent on supplies from abroad. The day Cochin-China is incorporated into the Viet-Nam Republic, the Viet Minh will dominate the entire federation. The French, understandably enough, have tried to fortify the independent existence of Cochin-China. The Viet-Namese, meanwhile, unable to count on the support of the Cochin-Chinese peasants, are doing all they can to carry the war into the recalcitrant territory. Their leading agitators in the southern province are one Pham Van Bach, a man with a very bad record as an informer, assassin, and master mind of the Cam-Tu ("Volunteers of Death"), and the revolutionary condottiero, Ngoyen Binh, released from the Poulo-Condor prison by the Japanese and already a legendary figure. The control of Cochin-China is the central issue of the struggle and one that will be extremely hard to settle by negotiation.

But the vital problem for the French is how to put an end to the war. The complete pacification of Indo-China would take long, hard fighting and put a terrible drain on France's limited resources. Equally unacceptable would be complete withdrawal; no French statesman, not even a Communist, would suggest such a solution. There remains one alternative—negotiation. But with whom? France, it is true, recognized the Viet-Nam Republic but that was before the Viet-Namese, in defiance of their pledged word and without claiming any breach on the part of France, attacked the French at Hanoi on December 19 last. That the attack had been planned well in advance has been proved; tunnels had even been dug between houses so that the Viet-Namese might move freely from one part of the city to another. If General Morlière, getting wind of the attack a few hours before it was launched, had not, for a second time, sent his troops to their barracks, it is probable that the French would have lost the city in a bloody fight.

Dr. Thach, in New Delhi, produced documents purporting to show that the French had attacked first at Hanoi; he further claimed that the French troops had massacred a whole quarter of Hanoi on December 17. The best that can be said of Dr. Thach's charges is that they are untrue. On December 17 the French forces were still confined to their barracks. Moreover, General Morlière was in touch with Ho Chi Minh up to the last moment before the attack and on the very morning of December 19 had received a letter from the Viet-Namese leader in which nothing was said either of the destroyed quarter of Hanoi or of an impending rupture. It is inconceivable that a Socialist government of France would have authorized an unprovoked coup d'état against the Viet-Nam.

Whatever may be the truth about the events of December 19, it will be difficult for the French government to negotiate with President Ho. Various peace overtures, allegedly signed by him, have been proved to be forgeries. For weeks he was rumored to have been killed. At any rate he was out of contact with the French. But it remains a fact that the Viet Minh leader, if he is alive, is the one man who could probably bring the rebellion to an end.

A new High Commissioner, M. Bollaert, has recently arrived in Saigon, replacing Admiral d'Argenlieu. M. Bollaert, an eminent and highly respected civil servant, has been making strenuous efforts to break through the barrier of suspicion and continuing warfare and arrive at a settlement with the Viet-Namese. Latest Saigon dispatches say that envoys from President Ho Chi Minh are in touch with him, while one story gives what purports to be the substance of an "interview" with President Ho sent out from his secret radio station in the mountains of Tonking. In it he expressed his sympathy for "French democrats" and invited a French Parliamentary delegation to visit Indo-China. If M. Bollaert can find some basis for negotiation with the Viet Nam, France will have good reason to be grateful. The present tragic situation serves only the partisan interests of politicians and pamphleteers, both right and left.

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Next Steps in China

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

WITH Secretary Marshall's return from Moscow there was bound to be an increased demand for a "clarification" of our China policy. President Truman's program of military aid to Greece and Turkey has already aroused considerable grumbling among right-wing Republicans. They argue that if it is essential to bolster up reactionary governments in the Middle East to check the spread of communism, similar action is even more essential in the Far East, where America's interests are more deeply involved. Moreover, it is asserted in some quarters that the reorganized Nanking government is essentially the kind of government that Marshall was working for, even though the Democratic League and the Communists do not participate.

A year ago most observers felt that with American aid China was well on the road to democracy and internal unity. The subsequent collapse of the Marshall mission represented a grave setback for post-war American diplomacy. But before embarking on a new policy, we should try to see just why our attempt at mediation failed.

There is abundant evidence to support General Marshall's contention that a "dominant group of reactionaries" within the Kuomintang skilfully sabotaged all his efforts. The Communists also, in recent months at least, have shown little disposition to compromise. It would be easy to conclude therefore that Marshall's efforts were foredoomed to failure. Some right-wing critics, indeed, have insisted that his program was unsound from the beginning, that an effort to set up a coalition including the Communists was as ridiculous as a similar effort would be in this country.

The most direct answer to this contention is the fact, attested by all responsible observers, that the Chinese Communist Party has an immense amount of popular support. As long as it is barred from participation in the government, there will continue to be, for all practical purposes, two Chinas. The new government, despite the inclusion of some representatives of the Young China and Social Democratic parties, is dominated not only by the Kuomintang but by those elements in the Kuomintang which Secretary Marshall described as "'reactionaries." When T. V. Soong was dropped, the one significant progressive influence was eliminated.

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Whether Marshall's efforts ever had any chance of success will never be known. Marshall himself was highly regarded by both sides, but American aid to the Kuomintang spoke louder than his scrupulously impartial words. Some estimates place its value at $3,000,000,000—including the cost of training and equipping fifty-seven Kuomintang army divisions which have been used in the civil war. President Truman made it considerably less in his statement of December, 1946; his figures indicate a minimum of $1,491,000,000 in American aid to the Kuomintang since V-J Day and a little more than half that amount during the war. This excludes UNRRA assistance, which, though entirely non-military, has gone almost exclusively to Kuomintang areas and has been used in part to bolster up the tottering Kuomintang fiscal and economic structure.

Much of our aid was given, or arranged for, before General Marshall went to China. The transportation of Kuomintang troops to Shanghai and North China and the intervention of American marines were planned by Ambassador Hurley and General Wedemeyer as part of their policy of supporting the Kuomintang against the Communists. But this aid did not cease when Marshall became ambassador: he himself seems to have furthered the transportation of Kuomintang troops to Manchuria and the establishment of MAGIC, the American Military Mission which is still helping the Nationalists' army. Although Marshall subsequently held up the $500,000,000 American loan and brought about the withdrawal of the marines, the continuance of support to the Kuomintang long after the government showed it had no intention of accepting the January agreements caused the Communists to doubt American sincerity. The Kuomintang at the same time was convinced that we would support it in any eventuality as a potential ally against the Soviet Union. As long as the notion persisted among Kuomintang and Communist supporters that the Chinese internal struggle was inextricably bound up with the larger American-Soviet struggle for world influence, Marshall's role as a mediator was an impossible one.

The present American policy toward China is essentially no policy at all. We have abandoned our efforts at mediation because there was nothing else to be done. Our marines are being withdrawn because they were achieving nothing and were a source of constant irritation. The $500,000,000 loan is being held up because it would clearly be of no more value than water poured down a drain in stabilizing China's desperate political and economic situation.

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SHALL WE SUPPORT CHIANG KAI-SHEK?

Faced by an ever-widening civil conflict and an ever-deepening economic crisis in China, the United States has three possible courses of action: (1) we could openly espouse one side or the other in the civil war and utilize our economic and military resources to force a quick decision; (2) we could withdraw completely and allow China to settle its own problems; or (3) we could seek Soviet and possibly British cooperation in a new attempt at mediation.

Senator Vandenberg, spokesman on foreign policy for the Republican Party, has urged the first course of action. Speaking before the Cleveland Council of World Affairs in January, he asked for open support of the Chiang Kai-shek regime on the theory that this alone offers a route to "a strong and competent China." Other Congressmen have urged similar action to make our China policy consistent with our position on Greece and Turkey. It should be recognized, however, that this is not a new or untried policy. It was former Ambassador Hurley's at a time when the United States had substantial military forces in China which could be used to carry it out. Yet the Kuomintang proved incapable of unifying or pacifying the country. No amount of aid from the United States can wholly make up for its lack of support among the Chinese people. If we want to perpetuate civil conflict in China and risk the possibility of its spreading into a world conflagration, we need only return to the Hurley policies.

At first glance it may be supposed that we have already adopted the second, or "hands-off," policy with respect to China's civil war. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Although the marines in Peiping and Tientsin are scheduled to be withdrawn, from one to two thousand will remain at Tsingtao, where the American navy is helping the Kuomintang build up a respectable naval force. The United States has already supplied the government with twenty-two large and medium landing craft and fifty smaller vessels, and President Truman has just announced that additional ships are being turned over, "accompanied by a limited complement of naval personnel." In addition, the American Military Mission at Nanking, consisting of 750 officers and men, is still training future Kuomintang officers in the use of modern military weapons. Other units are stationed throughout China to facilitate the transfer of surplus military property to the Kuomintang. We should make our withdrawal absolute, terminate standing arrangements, and refuse to enter into new commitments until an all-party government has been established.

To abandon China at a time when the country's economy is utterly prostrate under the combined impact of war and inflation may seem to some an unnecessarily harsh action. Undoubtedly millions of people will starve unless China gets aid from abroad. Yet the record of the past year should convince even the most soft-hearted that further aid to the Kuomintang will not in the long run save lives. Even international relief, when distributed by a government agency, may be utilized, as UNRRA workers have recognized, as a political and military weapon. Before governmental relief can be of value, the primary conditions which make for starvation—that is, Kuomintang corruption and civil strife—must be eliminated.

Meanwhile, China's suffering can be alleviated to some extent by private relief through such agencies as the United Service to China, the Industrial Cooperatives, and various other American charitable organizations. Assistance given through these channels reaches all parts of China, including the Communist areas, and may help to strengthen the various educational and social-welfare groups that constitute the most potent democratic force within the country—groups operating under unimaginable handicaps because of war conditions.

There is ground for hope that the cessation of American governmental aid will force Chiang Kai-shek to give up his plans for all-out civil war and resume negotiations. The Nanking government's financial position is precarious. Nearly half of its nine-trillion-dollar (Chinese currency) budget is earmarked for military purposes. The budget provides for a two-trillion-dollar deficit, which is to be covered by the issuance of paper currency, but the actual deficit is expected to be much greater. Because the exchange rate has been pegged at a point which greatly overvalues Chinese currency, exports from China have been negligible since V-J Day. Although China's foreign-exchange position was excellent at the end of the war, heavy purchases abroad without corresponding sales of Chinese goods have largely absorbed the war-time surplus and left the country in a critical situation. The vast surplus stocks of war supplies obtained from the United States have lost much of their value because China is unable to service modern equipment and keep it in repair. It is reported, for example, that the Chinese air force may have to be grounded in a few weeks owing to poor maintenance facilities and a shortage of spare parts. Crack divisions that have been trained and equipped by the American army are said to lose the greater part of their efficiency within a few months after reverting to the control of old-line officers.

OR TRY INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION?

The sudden cutting off of all American aid to both of China's parties should be accompanied by a program of international mediation. As we have seen, the prospects for further mediation by one country, such as was attempted by General Marshall, are very poor. However, if the United States, Britain, and Russia could reach an agreement under U. N. auspices for implementing the Moscow Declaration of 1945, it is difficult to see how

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any Chinese political group could hold out against their combined moral and economic pressure. A bi-partisan proposal for such an undertaking was made recently by Representative Mansfield, on his return from an extensive tour of China and other Pacific countries, and by Senators Murray and Flanders.

Most of the objections that have been advanced against this proposal stem from the fear that Russia and the United States could not reach an agreement and that the effort would create new tensions between them. It is a matter of record, however, that the two countries did agree to a general statement of policy at the last Moscow conference and that this policy is almost identical with that earlier set forth by President Truman. Because of its geographical proximity, Russia has a greater stake in Chinese stability than any other country, not excepting the United States. Regardless of its sympathies, which are not too clear, it has scrupulously refrained—as General Marshall has attested—from giving material assistance to either of the warring factions. And it acted long before the United States to carry out the Moscow commitment for the withdrawal of American and Soviet troops. There is reason to believe, moreover, that Russia is prepared to advance substantial aid, as provided in the Sino-Soviet treaty, to a unified democratic regime.

If it were clear that the United States, Britain, and Russia were in complete agreement regarding China, so that there was no possibility of playing one against the other, the Democratic League and the other middle parties of China, which have a tremendous though unorganized following, would be greatly strengthened against the extremists. While these middle parties are wholly incapable of ruling China under present conditions, they can, if sufficiently strengthened, exercise an effective balance of power and save the country from the catastrophe that otherwise seems inevitable.

A Faith to Live By

III. "At the End of the Crisis, a New World . . ."

BY JACQUES MARITAIN

A FAITH to live by? I wonder whether these words satisfactorily present the question. What is necessary? What do we desperately need? A faith to live by? Or a faith to live for, a faith to live and die for? Just because our very life is at stake we are compelled to rediscover a faith to live and die for.

In the conception of many of our contemporaries faith, a faith to live by, far from being defined by any intrinsic and incontrovertible truth superior to man and human life, is merely something measured by human feeling or human needs, and destined to comfort human life's intellectual and social order, man's security in gaining possession of the earth and mastery over nature. From the time of Descartes and John Locke to the present, faith in God progressively became, for a great number of men, such a faith to live by. Finally, the religious feeling shifted to the cult of man. Our forebears undertook and pursued, with infinite hopefulness, a courageous, stubborn, and bright search for a faith to live by, which was a faith in man. This faith, during some decades, seemed all-powerful and produced splendid, though brittle achievements. The blunt fact, the terrible fact, is that we have lost faith in man.

If such a state of despair had endured, Hitler would have won the war. For the deepest trend of Nazism, its burning lust, was to vilify man, to have man accept his own baseness and vacuity, to renounce humanity. Europe and the world saw this hell and are still wounded by the vision. Wittingly or unwittingly, in the hidden psyche of common life men are losing faith in man.

What is termed today atheistic existentialism is the clearest symptom of this fact. Kierkegaard's existentialism was the anguish of faith searching for incomprehensible and unspeakable reality. Even Heidegger's existentialism searches for the mystery of being through the heartrending experience of nothingness. But atheistic existentialism, such as has been heralded in recent years by writers who are but submissive mirrors of their time, does not reflect the anguish of man confronting nothingness; it reflects and declares the longing of man for nothingness. It expresses the temptation and desire *not to be any longer*. Yet this is impossible. Longing for nothingness and condemned to be, man abandons himself.

Communism, which is the ultimate vicissitude of anthropocentric rationalism, endeavors indeed to save faith in man and offers itself as the last hope of optimism. Its optimism, however, is the optimism of the titanic and coercive energies of matter and technique; its man is totally subservient to the fate of history embodied in

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a social group. Faith in man, yes, but in what kind of man? However sincere and generous may be the faith in man of many Communists, they do not see that in their system the real man, the human being, is sacrificed to a mutilated image of the greatness of man.

Well, does despair, then, have the last word? Are we hemmed in by a tragedy?

As a matter of fact, reason demands that we have faith in man. Let us turn from the present world of man and look at the world of nature—I mean with an unsophisticated gaze. We see that, despite the all-pervading law of struggle and conflict, nature in its depths is permeated with an abysmal, supra-individual, and inescapable peace, which is the root goodness and the universal strength of being. And man, as part of nature, has an essence which is good itself. We see that the evolution of the cosmos and mankind is an interminable, though constantly thwarted, movement toward higher forms of life and consciousness, and that from the age of the cave man, the slow and painful progress of mankind testifies to energies in man which make any contempt of the human race childish and presumptuous. Consider with a little love any individual whatever in the anonymous common mass of poor humanity. The better you know him, the more you discover in him hidden resources of goodness that evil has been unable to destroy. Man's difficult condition comes from the fact that he is not only a creature of nature but also one of reason and freedom—elements which are weak in him and yet are his indestructible fortitude and tokens of his abiding dignity. No failures or stains can efface his original greatness.

Yes, we see that we must have faith in man. But we cannot. Our experience keeps reason in check. The present world of man has been for us a revelation of evil; it has shattered our confidence. We have seen too many crimes for which no just revenge can compensate, too many deaths in desperation, too sordid a debasement of human nature. Our vision of man has been covered over by the unforgettable image of the bloody ghosts in extermination camps. German sadism has let devils loose everywhere. Everything we loved seems to have been poisoned; everything in which we trusted seems to have failed. Science and progress are turned to our own destruction. Our very being is threatened by mental and moral atomization. Our very language has been perverted: all our words have become ambiguous and seem only able to convey deception. We live in Kafka's world. Where is our faith to live by?

Perhaps we have chosen the wrong road. Perhaps we would have done better to cling to a faith to live and die for, instead of seeking a faith to live by alone. Old pagan wisdom knew that man has his noblest, happiest, and most human aspect appendant to what is superhuman, and that he can only live *by* what he lives *for* and is ready to die for, and is better than himself. If our humanism has failed, it is perhaps because it was centered in man alone, and was utilitarian, not heroic; because it tried to relegate death and evil to oblivion, instead of facing them and overcoming them by an ascent of soul into eternal life; because it trusted in techniques instead of in love, I mean in Gospel love.

St. Paul says that faith is the assurance of things hoped for and goes on to say that it is a conviction of things not seen. Faith is an adherence to superhuman truth, an entrance into the realm of invisible and divine things; faith makes our whole life appendant to a living Whole which is infinitely better and more lovable than our own life; faith is a meeting with a Person who is Truth itself and Love itself, and to Whom the giving of oneself results in supreme freedom, and in Whom dying results in indestructible life.

Then we live for truth, and that truth for which we live is stronger than the world. Then we live for love, and that love for which we live has made the world and will finally renew and transfigure it. Then we are free, and nothing in the world can break our faith.

And this God Who is Truth and Love has made man to His image. He has destined man to share in His own life. His Son died to save man. Despite all the catastrophes that man's failures and refusals cause, He leads man's history toward godlike fulfilment and transfiguration. Such is the greatness of man. Here is the rock of our faith in him.

Thus faith in man revives if it is rooted in the superhuman. Faith in man is saved by faith in God.

Human history moves in a definite direction. It depends on both natural and spiritual energies, and among all kinds of conflicts it tends to the natural fulfilment of mankind—namely, the progressive manifestation of the essence and potentialities of man, the progressive development of the structures of his knowledge, his moral conscience, and his social life, mankind's progressive conquest of unity and freedom. And it tends also to a spiritual fulfilment which is supra-temporal and transcends history, and which the Christian considers to be the kingdom of God and the revelation of the sons of God. Though inseparably intermingled, these two trends of history relate to two thoroughly distinct orders, and often the weakness of man opposes the one while furthering the other. And contrary to them, evil also develops in history; so that a downward movement causes losses to increase at the same time as an upward movement causes the sap of the world to produce better fruits. In the happiest periods of history evil is at work in what is obscured. In the darkest eras the good is invisibly preparing unforeseeable conquests. And good is stronger than evil. Finally the saying of the Scriptures will be fulfilled: Tell the righteous that everything is well. In

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old Jewish apocalyptic writings it was stated that the age of the sufferings of the Messiah would be the age of his greatest victories.

In presenting his book, "On the Threshold of the Apocalypse," to one of his readers some thirty years ago, Léon Bloy wrote on the first page: *"Cher ami, donnez-vouz le peine d'entrer"* ("Dear friend, pray cross the threshold"). It seems that, as a matter of fact, we did cross. Our age appears as an apocalyptic age, a liquidation of several centuries of history. We are picking the grapes of wrath. We have not finished suffering. But at the end of the crisis a new world will emerge.

Then experience—that very experience which jeopardized our faith in man—is transfigured. It assumes a meaning. It is not the revelation of the absurdity of existence but of the pangs and travail of history, not the revelation of the root baseness and contemptibleness of man but of his distress laid bare when he falls from his pride, and of the trials and catastrophes through which the abiding greatness of his destiny asserts itself.

A historical liquidation such as the one we are undergoing does not take place in one day. Time is necessary to make reason able to control the formidable material means which industrial and technological revolution has put in our frail hands. Time is necessary to stir up, from the depths of human bewilderment, the moral and spiritual revolution that is incomparably more needed than any other revolution. For nothing less is required than a terrestrial triumph of Gospel inspiration in the social behavior of mankind. We do not lose hope. The renewal of civilization that we hope for, the age of integral humanism, the time when science and wisdom are to be reconciled, the advent of a fraternal commonwealth and of true human emancipation—all this we do not await on the morrow. But we await them on the day after the morrow, at that moment which St. Paul announced would be the splendor and resurrection of the world.

Every effort made in this direction will finally bear fruit. I refer not only to the spiritual struggle of those who have heard, as Henri Bergson put it, the call of the hero, and who awaken men to evangelic love, but also to the temporal struggle of all those—scientists like Pasteur or Washington Carver, poets like Walt Whitman, Hugo, or Peguy, pioneers of social justice like the "radicals" called up by Saul Alinsky—who give themselves to the improvement and illumination of their brothers' lives, and who can know no rest as long as their brothers are in enslavement and misery. Even if the general state of the world and our stock of accumulated errors prevent such efforts from overcoming at present the evils which are streaming in from everywhere, they are preparing an era, under God, of greater dignity for man and of expanding love.

Such is the faith we live for, and, because we live for it, the faith we live by.

Europe This Summer?

BY HORACE SUTTON

SOME countries in Europe have been having a rather difficult time lately, deciding whether they shall invite or discourage America's eager travelers this summer. To be sure, dollar credits are greatly coveted, but a disgruntled tourist is a poor advertisement, and a hungry population may make an apathetic host.

Great Britain has released an official announcement that tourists will not only be encouraged but urged to go to Britain in 1947, and visas will be freely granted. But from London comes another voice. The British Automobile Association, like the British Caterers, has publicly expressed its opposition to visits by American tourists this year. It holds that some 70,000 Britons, wearied by years of sacrifices, would have to give up their own holidays to accommodate the visitors and that the accommodations and food would be meager in any case.

HORACE SUTTON will contribute monthly articles on travel to The Nation.

An invitation has come from Spain. "The Spanish government welcomes whole-heartedly the prospect of American tourists visiting Spain in the near future," says the official release. But only last month the government of Spain instructed an American newspaperman to turn in his credentials as the penalty for filing dispatches that deviated from the official line. While the ordinary tourist would not be bothered in this particular way, the atmosphere of the dictatorship would surely oppress all but the most thick-skinned. And travel conditions are described by recent visitors as impossible. Spain lacks even the first virtue of a fascist state: its trains do not run on time.

"Under existing conditions," says Sweden, "tourists can be accommodated only in limited numbers." Norway says, "Every effort is being exerted, etc." Denmark regrets; Czechoslovakia is still rationed; the Netherlands says anxiously, please, please, make advance reservations. Belgium, on the other hand, with 40,000 rooms available, describes itself as "eager." And France, amid all

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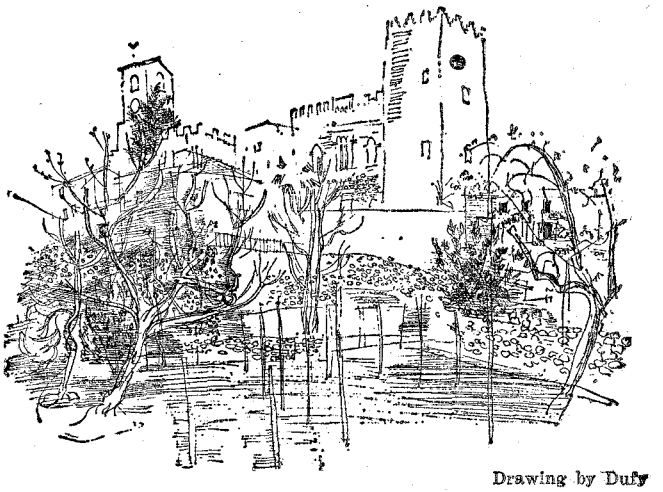
the doubt, dissuasions, and admonitions, has dusted off the old red carpet and rolled it out to welcome 300,000 American tourists this year.

I dropped over to see the "director of public information" of the French National Tourist Office as he stepped from the boat last week. He is Norman Reader, a young and husky American with graying hair and quiet manners. A public-relations man in the Army Air Forces during the war, Mr. Reader managed to get himself "readjusted" in a job that has just required him to spend six weeks, expenses paid, on a tour of French resort centers from Paris to Chamonix and from Deauville to the Riviera. He asserts unequivocally that France could accept 300,000 tourists this year, but adds that shortage of transportation will cut this number to about 60,000. There are only nine passenger liners on the North Atlantic run—the America, Queen Elizabeth, Mauritania, Gripsholm, Drottningholm, Noordam, Westerdam, Veendam, and Stavangerfjord. Three American and four foreign air lines use sixty-seven planes for a total of fifty-five weekly flights each way. The ships are sold out in spite of overcrowding and high prices, and transatlantic plane traffic has recently taken a tremendous spurt.

Travel to France requires a passport, and if you are going for pleasure you must show confirmed round-trip passage before our State Department will let you go. Business travelers are not required to show return passage, but they must have a letter from their firm stating what their business abroad is. Everyone must have a visa, obtainable at any French consulate upon payment of a nominal fee. Francs are exchanged abroad at a legal rate of 120 to the dollar, and Mr. Reader says carry travelers' checks or a letter of credit. You may bring all the money you want, but it is unlawful to have bills in larger denominations than $20. France wishes that tourists would avoid the black market in changing their dollars. This will be easier to do now that the illegal rate has come so close to the legal one.

Mr. Reader's best piece of advice is to visit the small places in France first and then wind up your trip in Paris. The large, well-known hotels and night clubs are expensive, and unfortunately these are the ones Americans visit first. "It is going to be hard to educate Americans not to spend all their time in Paris," he says. Once Mr. Reader had a lunch for which he paid 325 francs. A clerk in his Paris office said, "That's about what I make in a day." It is possible, however, to eat in what we might call a white-collar luncheonette for as little as 80 francs. It is also possible—as Mr. Reader discovered—to have a bite at La Tour d'Argent, about the best place in Paris, for considerably more. His check was 3,000 francs.

In Paris do your traveling by cab in the morning. Where there were once 20,000 taxis, there are now only 8,000 in operation. The drivers work until their gas ration is exhausted and then quit for the day. Use the



Drawing by Dufy

Chateau of Vernet-les-Bains

metro, Mr. Reader advises. It is intact, costs only four francs, and is infinitely easier for a New Yorker than the New York subway system. To learn where to eat and sleep in Paris, apply to the government information offices, which are preparing a list of moderate-priced hotels. The better-known restaurants, like Perifourdine, the Prunier, Relais de la Belle Aurore, all charge between 900 and 1,500 francs for dinner. Rooms in average Paris hotels are 450 francs a day; fancier places like the Hotel George V are 1,100 francs a day. The Paris theater is flourishing, and the biggest hit is "'The Eagle Has Two Heads," a resounding flop in New York when it opened with Tallulah Bankhead.

At Deauville, where the seasons starts in June, literally every square foot of ground has been turned up in a search for mines. The theaters, gambling casinos, beaches, and golf courses await their first big year. The Riviera is in excellent condition, and good hotels in Nice charge about 400 francs a day for a room. There are pensions outside, however, where one can live, with food included, for the same price. In Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, ordinary hotels charge 150 francs a night for lodging.

Air-France operates a number of routes within the country, Mr. Reader reports, and the French railroads have done a miraculous job of rebuilding. Traveling conditions, he says, are pretty good though trains are badly crowded. In Avignon a young colonel in the French army invited him to lunch and topped off the meal with an especially prepared cake surmounted with an American flag. "Contrary to what a lot of Americans believe, the French are deeply appreciative of what Americans did in the war and they speak of it all the time," Reader says. In Normandy many streets are marked with names of American enlisted men. A sign will read: "Pvt. Edwin Crowe Road." No hotels are being built near the battlefields, which it is hoped will not be commercialized. Excursions are run from centers like Deauville. The cemeteries are beautifully kept, the graves well marked; many are set with flowers.

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DIRTY DEALS IN SPAIN

TWO weeks ago I said that General Franco would never have dared challenge the United Nations with his cynical Law of Succession if he had not been encouraged by changes in the British and American attitude toward Spain. After months of very timid attempts by Anglo-American diplomacy to persuade the Spanish dictator to turn his job over to a kind of monarchist-military-clerical salvage brigade, London and Washington have swung back to their original policy of helping Franco stay in power. The Foreign Office gave the signal by signing a new monetary agreement with Spain on March 28. The State Department responded by sending to Madrid the able chief of its Division of Western European Affairs, Paul T. Culbertson. The department release of May 9 denying any change of policy toward Madrid was an inescapable consequence of the indiscretions of the Spanish press, which has been insisting that the Truman Doctrine was about to embrace fascist Spain. This statement, however, does not deny the many well-established reports of other and more indirect kinds of American help for Franco.

The White Paper announcing the Anglo-Spanish agreement was described by several British publications as a clear attempt—to use the words of the *Observer*—"to strengthen Franco's hand" in dealing with intensified guerrilla activities, pressing demands from the monarchists, and an economic collapse which was shaking the frail supports of the regime. In terms of direct British interests the deal makes almost no sense, yielding at best somewhere around ten million pounds. But for Franco, the British announcement of an agreement for reciprocal credits, no matter what the amount, was the best news since the end of the war.

For an entire week the Falangist radio entertained the country with comments on the accord. Actually it had no need to blow its trumpets. Throughout Spain, from Falangist headquarters to the jails, filled with new drafts of political prisoners in the worst wave of repression since 1939, everybody understood exactly what the agreement implied. By proclaiming its determination to back the fascist regime until further notice, the Foreign Office had extended an informal invitation to Franco to issue his latest decree ordering the death sentence for such crimes as "planning to carry out sabotage, kidnaping, or any act that might be construed as terrorism," or "belonging to a guerrilla band." This order is an omen of the horrid things to come. Even before it was issued, the persons executed since January 1 of this year numbered officially 107—I repeat, officially, for the real figures are much greater.

To receive a diplomat like Mr. Culbertson in Madrid has been another triumph for Franco. The immediate, logical consequence of this and the British move has been the renewal of diplomatic relations between Bolivia and Spain. The government press in La Paz quite frankly explains: "Since the great powers [Great Britain and the United States] have again begun to deal with Franco, there is no reason why the smaller powers should renounce such advantages." Madrid was prompt to suggest that Bolivia was only the first of the Latin American countries to "regularize" its relations with Spain.

Innumerable signs in the Spanish radio and press indicate that Franco now considers himself not merely a potential ally, as in the recent past, but a full partner in the Truman plan to mobilize all world forces against communism. Dressed in his new attire as the *Cid Campeador* of modern Spain, he is prepared, in the name of Christianity, to kill more Spaniards in the next few months than he has killed in the two preceding years.

Last December the United Nations adopted a resolution that committed them to action. Those nations that voted the resolution in good faith, with a sense of respect for the international organization and its decisions, are beginning to ask when Secretary General Lie is going to report on what has been done to carry out their decision.

When the question comes up, we probably shall hear Senator Connally or his successor again protesting in behalf of the "wonderful, proud, sensitive, patriotic, heroic people of Spain," who resent so greatly any foreign interference in their affairs. But before aggravating his support of Franco with a mockery of the Spanish people, the American spokesman should read what the liberal Catholic writer, Francis E. McMahon, said in the New York *Post* on April 30 just after his return from Madrid: "Before going to Spain I was half inclined to believe that outside pressures help the Franco regime, that the Spanish people resent interference by other powers to oust Franco. There had been talk about Spanish pride and Spanish determination to settle scores with Franco by themselves. I know better now. The anti-Franco elements of Spain want not less action from the outside but more." I could complete Dr. McMahon's remarks by saying that what the anti-Franco elements of Spain want is merely that the Western democracies stop their intervention in favor of Franco and fulfil their obligations toward the United Nations. Nothing more and nothing less.

Meanwhile violence in Spain is increasing. The strike in Bilbao, involving more than 50,000 men, was the first mass revolt since Franco took power. Its political character is clearly evident from the courageous statement of the strike committee: "The movement is mainly a protest against a corrupt regime, to hasten the fall of the tyranny which oppresses us all."

All Spain begins to feel that way. Only the other day I had a letter from an old Socialist friend in Spain with whom I have disagreed in recent years because he has favored a policy of compromise, even at the cost of the Republic, in order to avoid new slaughter. He now writes: "In the last few months I have been more and more revising my former position. Spain could have been made free without the spilling of more blood, and only those of us who have been here all the time know how strong was the wish that this might happen. But Britain and America have not wanted it. They are again for Franco, and they will oblige us to fight like cornered jackals. It's going to be terrible. But we shall fight."

DEL VAYO

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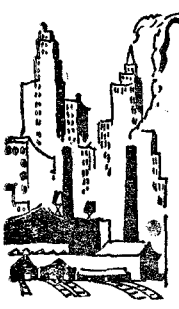

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Prayer, Profits, and Pie

THE forty-fifth annual meeting of stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation on May 5 opened with prayer and ended with sandwiches, coffee, and custard pie. The prayer—a plea for divine blessings and guidance—was an innovation at these gatherings. It failed, so far as I could observe, to influence the tone of the proceedings, which was quite normally materialistic. The pie, a traditional bonus for Big Steel stockholders, undoubtedly has symbolic significance. Most of the three-hour discussion which preceded its consumption was concerned with the division of the corporation's production pie, and the sense of the meeting was that the stockholders' slice was far too small.

One stockholder who expressed this view—he described himself as a "Nassau County Republican"—suggested that the directors were so intimidated by the "Washington crackpots" that even if the corporation earned $15 per common share in 1947, they wouldn't dare to pay out as much as $10 in dividends. He urged, therefore, that the stock be split four for one so as to increase the number of "tool-owners" interested in the business—a potential political-pressure group. On the present dividend basis, he pointed out, that would mean payment of $1 a share, which would appear much more modest than $4, and it might prove possible "to sneak another fifty cents onto it."

Earlier, Chairman Irving S. Olds, in the course of a lengthy review of the company's affairs, made it clear that he was not cooperating in President Truman's campaign to bring down prices. Proceeds from sales, he declared, must be sufficient to cover all costs, permit payment of fair dividends, and leave something for future capital needs: on this basis current prices were reasonable and profits not excessive. In fact, he hinted, if the newest round of wage increases led to a substantial addition to the cost of goods and services purchased by the corporation, it might be necessary to raise prices. On the other hand, it might well be argued that a reduction in steel prices would mean reduced costs for most industries, including many of those from which United States Steel purchases supplies.

An even more important consideration is the influence of prices on demand. At the present time there is a market for every ton of steel that can be squeezed out of the furnaces, and the industry is operating at very nearly 100 per cent of capacity. Consequently, overhead charges per ton, one of the major elements in steel costs, are being held to a minimum, with very favorable effects on profits. But the current demand will not be long maintained unless the gap between income and production generally is closed by the downward revision of prices for which the Administration is pressing. That will hardly be possible without a cut in the price of so basic a commodity as steel.

In this matter, however, the management of United States Steel seems to be adopting a thoroughly defeatist attitude. The corporation's annual report asserts that the long-term outlook is for the average use of about two-thirds of capacity. This would mean shipments of finished products at an average rate little higher than that for the years 1919 to 1942. And since there is a close correlation between steel output and total industrial production, this estimate indicates disbelief in our ability to maintain national income and employment at their present high levels.

Although the report thus indicated little expectation of future growth, Mr. Olds in his speech made numerous references to the need to maintain earnings at a level which would provide a margin for expansion. He did not explain this apparent contradiction. Instead he rebuked critics for not paying sufficient attention to the relation of profits to sales and invested capital. In 1946, he pointed out, although profits were higher than in any war year, they were equivalent to only 6 cents per dollar of sales, while in five peace years of comparable production they had averaged 10 cents. However, he admitted that in the first quarter of 1947 earnings were 8.26 per cent of sales. Projecting the figures over the whole year and allowing for the recent wage increase, returns at least as good as in 1946 seem to be indicated.

In the midst of all the talk about the cold arithmetic of steel a young man rose and reminded the stockholders of the human investment on which their profits depended. Announcing that he represented several stockholders and 4,000 employees, Samuel Neff told the story of a steel community under sentence of death. Ellwood City, Pennsylvania, is a one-industry town with 4,000 of its 15,000 inhabitants employed by the National Tube Company, a subsidiary of United States Steel. Some time ago the directors of the corporation decided to abandon this plant and transfer its business to Gary, Indiana, and Lorain, Ohio. Workers were offered jobs at these places but not transportation or housing. With restrained eloquence Mr. Neff showed how tragic this forced migration would be for the people of Ellwood City, 80 per cent of whom own their homes. The Steel Workers' Union, he said, had offered to cooperate with management in reducing costs but had been told that "the die was cast and nothing could change the situation." Nevertheless, he was appealing to the directors and stockholders to show that Big Steel was more than a "soulless corporation."

Mr. Olds replied with a proposal for a conference between Mr. Neff and the corporation's president, Benjamin F. Fairless, but offered no hope of reprieve. Ellwood City, he indicated, was a victim of progress: the plant was obsolete, and it was more economic to rebuild nearer the market for its products.

The 200 stockholders present had listened quietly to Mr. Neff's moving appeal. But they seemed anxious to forget the specter he had raised, and a few minutes later they were laughing at the feeble jokes and applauding the invective of a stockholder who in a rambling and often incoherent speech denounced unions and urged "collective bargaining for stockholders." Then they adjourned for pie. It would have been more appropriate, it seemed to me, to have closed the meeting with another prayer—for Ellwood City.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Children of Light

COMMUNITAS: MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD AND WAYS OF LIFE. By Percival and Paul Goodman. The University of Chicago Press. $6.

ACCORDING to the best authority, that is, the blurb, Paul Goodman's work is "a ballet of ideas." His brother Percival is an architect with a special dislike of (American) efficiency. They squabble fraternally, both "hopped up with benzedrine." Out of their tussle emerges a synthesis worthy of Hegel himself, to the surprise and awe of the modest authors.

Frankly, the book is a circus, although soberness itself compared with some of Le Corbusier's. But I like circuses far better than I like bread. There is one paramount issue today: planning or chaos—with war as an unhappy medium. The Goodman brothers believe in planning, city planning, community planning. They are among the Children of Light.

They believe also in "surplus technology." In the United States, undoubtedly. I do not believe that the world as a whole has reached that point. Nor will it reach it if India and China keep pressing hard against the limit of subsistence. Malthus has been abundantly sneered at but not refuted.

There is a good summary of modern plans, liberal enough not to damn Sitte and his cult of the picturesque plaza, daring enough to consider the Radiant City, the Voisin Plan, antiquated. The brothers' own plan is arresting. In the center a cylinder a mile in radius, twenty stories high; rail and bus terminals in the basement, shopping and amusements on the first seven floors, light industries on the next six, offices on the last seven; an airport on top; hotels on the six-mile ribbed outer wall. Then a mile-wide ring for the university —rather a formidable campus. Beyond, residential quarters, arranged in squares which are complete home communities. Naturally, the scheme is only a "paradigm," as they call it. It has points.

Their sociological pattern is simplicity itself. Instead of pump priming, subsidies, relief, and all the devious ways of a mixed economy, let's frankly make minimum subsistence in food, clothing, and shelter a community responsibility. With modern technology these essential needs could be satisfied with a small fraction of mankind's total effort. All the spare time, all the unspent energy, could be devoted to luxury, where private enterprise would have a magnificent field. Dare we face the possibility of allowing men to die of hunger or cold? No. Then we might adopt the Goodman idea: on a sure communistic foundation rear as splendid a capitalistic edifice as you please. This, I am afraid, is a little too sane to appeal to our present rulers. All that they will see, in this witch-hunting season, is that "Communitas" has no fewer than eight letters in common with communism. The illustrations offer a blend of William Blake, the blueprint, and the comic strip that I found very attractive.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Southern Pastiche

THE WAY OF THE SOUTH. By Howard W. Odum. The Macmillan Company. $3.

HOWARD W. ODUM has now attempted a non-academic recapitulation of his scholarly contributions to the study of the South's malaise. Mr. Odum for many years directed the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina; his "Southern Regions" is an indispensable work in the literature of Southern regionalism, a school of which he has long been a leading figure.

The scope of "The Way of the South" is broad. Mr. Odum opens with a survey of Southern resources, briefly reviews Southern historical development, reexamines the "glory of the Old South," and so proceeds to a discussion of surviving Southern folkways, the position of the Negro, politics below the Mason and Dixon Line, and the resurgence, as he sees it, of North-South animosity since the early thirties. He winds up with a fairly technical analysis of the kinds of planning necessary for the full regional development of the South.

As a recapitulation the book must of course stand on its presentation of largely familiar material. It is precisely on this score that "The Way of the South" does its author a disservice. It mixes history and sociology, rhapsody and catalogue, impressionism and scholarly abstraction, in a totally unreadable pastiche. Explaining in his final section (headed Postscript and Preface) his own conception of the book, Mr. Odum writes:

> If we have mixed the swing and rhythm of "Rainbow Round My Shoulder," "Wings on My Feet," and "Cold Blue Moon" [three novels by Mr. Odum] with the hard reality of regional development and social theory, this still reflects the mixtures of . . . "what all sights, North, South, East, and West, are," to recall again the universalism of Walt Whitman.

Unfortunately it recalls much more immediately the sententious double-talk of Norman Corwin's radio scripts. A good many pages of the opening section are given over to listing names: trees, fruits, nuts, rivers, flowers ("Of the families of . . ."), mammals ("There was the order of . . ."), birds ("Call the roll of other birds"), and so on. The generous doses of quotations include a number from Mr. Odum's own novels. This kind of thing can be effective if it is done with taste and, particularly, restraint—although even so it is more appropriate to sound track or radio delivery; here it breaks the back of what would in any case have been an uneasy, gnarled style.

Mr. Odum's principal point, that the problems of the South must be tackled with the fact of the South's basic regional differences from the rest of the country as a basic motivation, is one which very few serious Northern or Southern students would now care to dispute. On the subject of reawakened hostility between the North and South he is disappointingly sketchy.

W. J. GOLD

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Resistance in the Third Reich

GERMANY'S UNDERGROUND. By Allen Welsh Dulles. The Macmillan Company. $3.

MR. DULLES tells some thrilling stories in "Germany's Underground"—tales of daring conspiracies, of plots for assassination, and the weird accidents which brought them to naught. It is a book of facts, but of facts far more strange and exciting than the fictions invented by writers of mystery stories.

During the war Mr. Dulles was chief of the OSS mission in Switzerland charged with getting in touch with Hitler's enemies inside Germany. The material in his book is drawn from that experience. It is fascinating in its own right, but its principal significance lies in the fact that it confutes the experts who were so certain that practically all Germans were Nazis and that no resistance comparable to that of Frenchmen, Poles, or Norwegians existed or was to be expected in the Third Reich. Mr. Dulles's report not only proves the experts were wrong but also provokes the bitter reflection that V-Day might have come much sooner and cost much less in terms of blood, destruction, and post-war problems if Germany's underground had been recognized in time and had received the help accorded to the resistance in other countries.

Given his observation post, Mr. Dulles was not in a position to know much about the "unknown soldiers" in Germany's underground—the obscure and unimportant people who risked their lives doing the small things they were able to do: distributing leaflets, slowing down the work in war factories, helping Jews and foreign slave workers. He learned a great deal about the identity, the opinions, the plans and actions of another group, formed and led by conservative elements—army generals, high officials, civil servants—which continuously plotted the overthrow of Hitler. He reveals that Goerdeler, former lord mayor of Leipzig, and General Beck, former chief of staff of the German army, made serious attempts to liberate Germany from the Nazi regime long before the war started—and continued their attempts until both were killed.

One plan for getting rid of Hitler and preventing the war was set for execution in the days of the Czechoslovakian crisis. A military putsch had been prepared. At the crucial hour news came that Chamberlain and Daladier were on their way to Munich, and the orders were not given. After the attack on Norway the conspirators tried to ascertain the intentions of the Western powers in the event of a successful military putsch against Hitler. "An ambiguous, non-committal answer arrived," Mr. Dulles reports, "just as the offensive in the west began."

Plans for Hitler's arrest or assassination were made and tried, one after another, and on several occasions the Führer was saved only by the merest chance. The climax came with the dramatic putsch of June 20, 1944. Again through a chain of curious accidents Hitler survived. Very few of the conspirators escaped.

No doubt Germany's underground, though not lacking in heroism, owed its defeat as much to its own weaknesses as to the refusal of the Western powers to accept Germans as allies against the Nazis. Nevertheless, the resistance movement inside Germany did have some practical value. It appears for instance that the Intelligence Division of the German High Command, led by Ad-

Bathsheba's Lament in the Garden

Baring the mares'-nests that the pigeons set
To tangle with the wood-winds of the North,
October blows to wood . . . the fourth
Since David broke our vows
And married Abishag to warm him. Cold!
The pigeons bluer with it, since we met
Beside the lion-fountain, and unrolled
The tackle of our model boats. Our prows
Were sworded as the marlin, and they locked,
Clearing the mallards' grotto, half a mile
Up pond—and foundered; and our splashing mocked
The lion's wrinkled brow. My Love, a little while,

The lion frothed into the basin . . . all,
Water to water—water that begets
A child from water. And the jets
That washed our bodies drowned
The curses of Uriah when he died
For David; still a stranger! *Not-at-all,*
We called him, after the withdrawing tide
Of Joab's armor-bearers slew him, and he found
Jehovah, the whale's belly of the pit.
He is the childless, the unreconciled
Master of darkness. Will Uriah sit
And judge? You nod and babble. But, you are a child;

At last, a child—what we were playing, when
We blew our bubbles at the moon, and fought
Like brothers, and the lion caught
The moonbeams in its jaws.
The harvest moon, earth's friend, that cared so much
For us and cared so little, comes again;
Always a stranger! Farther from my touch,
The mountains of the moon . . . whatever claws
The harp-strings with your chalky fingers. Cold
The eyelid drooping on the lion's eye
Of David, child of God. But I am old;
God is ungirded; open! I must surely die.

ROBERT LOWELL

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miral Canaris, was honeycombed with bitter enemies of National Socialism. "Certain key members deliberately falsified secret reports to deceive Hitler . . . and crossed some of Hitler's most important and diabolical plans."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Dulles's book will be widely read—though one can hardly expect that it will be recommended by those experts whose mistakes it reveals. JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

THE SESSIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNDERSCORE THE TRAGIC HOMELESSNESS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

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Taxes and Policy

TAXATION FOR PROSPERITY. By Randolph E. Paul. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $4.

THE place of taxation in full-employment policy is discussed with intelligence and common sense by Randolph E. Paul, former general counsel and tax expert of the Treasury Department.

During the 1930's economists who acepted the theory of Lord Keynes that government fiscal policy should be used to stabilize business cycles placed primary emphasis on the expansion or contraction of spending for public works. In 1932, when United States internal revenue was only about $1,500,000,000, lowering the tax rate would not have had any pronounced effect on purchasing power, even if it had been politically possible.

But with government revenues in excess of $40,000,000,000 for the current fiscal year—almost equal to the 1932 national income—the situation is very different. If there should be a serious threat of depression, judicious tax reduction could increase spendable income in the lower brackets, where it is most needed, faster and more efficiently than any other device.

As soon as the facts are stated, it becomes obvious that tax policy must be fully integrated with public-works planning and social security in any well-rounded full-employment program. Mr. Paul writes with full acceptance of this premise.

He does not, however, suggest that tax adjustment is the panacea for all our ills, and he recognizes that an ideal tax system is unattainable. Even if there were no other difficulty, it is always undesirable to change the base of taxation too abruptly. Sudden changes may provide windfalls for some businesses and individuals, while bringing unforeseeable disaster to others. Substantial readjustment of individual income-tax rates, especially the raising or lowering of individual exemptions to counterbalance deflation or inflation, is fair and sound. But changes in corporation, inheritance, and excise taxes usually raise as many perplexing problems as they solve.

Most of Mr. Paul's book, therefore, is devoted to a history and explanation of the existing tax structure. He points to many evils and inequalities, and recommends a considerable number of changes. At the same time he recognizes that anyone who has made long-range plans in relation to current taxes is entitled to expect no arbitrary or capricious shift. Short of a complete economic revolution, sound tax policy must always start with the current situation, including the cumulative effect of past actions. To take one example from the book, there is something to be said for the proposal—indorsed by Leon Henderson, among others—to eliminate corporation taxes except on undivided profits and depend entirely upon the individual income tax. However, it is extremely difficult to make such a change in a way which would be fair to the man who sold common stock the day before it was announced, and to recapture the windfall from the buyer.

In a long section on corporation taxes Mr. Paul discusses most of the current suggestions for a new policy and concludes that continuation of a fairly high corporate tax rate is a lesser evil than anything else which has been proposed.

Another phase of the problem is the idea of special benefits for small business. From the point of view of national economic health there is considerable justification for regulating taxes in such a way as to help new businesses to get started. But there is no real justification for subsidy on the basis of size—particularly since a small business in steel would be a big business in textiles—and it is not easy to reduce the tax burden for a new enterprise without giving it an unfair advantage over its competitors.

Tax avoidance and tax evasion offer equally serious complications, since a choice must be made between allowing some loopholes and writing tax laws and regulations so detailed that enforcement is virtually impossible, making the penalty in paper work required of honest firms greater than the value of collections from the dishonest. It is also too much to expect that loopholes will not occasionally slip by Congress, as in the case of depletion allowances for oil and gas wells, which have sometimes given more tax remission than the original investment, while the wells are still producing.

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"Taxation for Prosperity" is too honest to be dogmatic about the way to achieve a sound tax system. It is easy to read. But the fact that an intelligent, semi-popular discussion of tax problems requires 418 pages and does not reach final conclusions raises a puzzling question as to the development of tax policy in a democracy. Only a few voters will read it, and voters cannot be expected to understand the whole tax structure. So it can only be hoped that the experts and the politicians will present the broad principles in such a way that the voters can make an intelligent choice. This is, at least, an excellent guidebook for the layman who is sufficiently interested to check up on the experts and the politicians. It might also persuade the professionals to face a few practical problems.

CHARLES E NOYES

Aftermath of Excitement

LADY GREGORY'S JOURNALS, 1916-1930. Edited by Lennox Robinson. The Macmillan Company. $3.

IN THE pages of these journals will be found mention of all those people (nearly all; not Joyce) whom we would rather read about than anybody else—Shaw, Yeats, Synge, O'Casey, "AE," Gogarty, Stephens, and the rest, all those people whose writing in the English language was the brightest and liveliest we have known in our time. Yet these journals, it is sad to have to report, are not particularly exciting, are, even, rather dull; they begin in 1919, except for one or two earlier entries, and by that time the devotion and energy were employed in keeping or recovering; the bold wit that started things was worn down, and Lady Gregory sounds like a tired old lady, trudging faithfully where she may once, however sedately, have danced. The editor, Lennox Robinson, has grouped the entries under several headings: Coole, the Abbey Theater, Politics (but the Terror and the Civil War only, not the Rising), Persons and Books, the Lane Pictures, Odds and Ends. (Mr. Robinson has been scrupulous in preserving disparaging remarks about himself.) The importance of Lady Gregory's role in all this activity cannot be estimated from what she tells here of her actions in picking up the pieces; nor could her ability as a writer be determined from the prose style of the journals: was she always, maybe, a little too serious and earnest? One flash of impatience, at least, has a delightful combination of wit and malice in its exasperation: "Mrs. MacSwiggan (an actress in the Abbey Theater), Mrs. MacSwiggan, being English, has no respect for words and hits with extraordinary perversity on the wrong one to accentuate in each sentence."

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Young Holmes

TOUCHED WITH FIRE: Civil War Letters and Diary of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., 1861-1864. Edited by Mark DeWolfe Howe. Harvard University Press. $3.

ON THE whole these letters are dull. They no doubt have a value for historians and for students of the Justice's career and the Civil War's military history; and for long-time Bostonians. But the reader who is not a specialist will resent having to plow through so much that is insignificant to find so little that is interesting. The letters to his family and the diary fragments are the briefest of battlefield notes. Yet they seldom contain a sense of the battlefield—to communicate this is an artist's work. Moreover, the notes were written—and the editor has transcribed them—in Holmes's hurried shorthand. Again, historians will appreciate this; the general reader will not. The editor's lengthy footnotes also are largely uninteresting except to Bostonians.

A rather curious thing about these jottings is that Holmes really made and preserved them *for historians.* "Keep all letters that are at all historical," he cautions his parents. And Mr. Howe reveals that the true editor of the collection was Holmes himself—that the Justice destroyed certain letters and pieces of the diary which he did not want preserved. This sense of history is part of a sharp consciousness of role which the aristocrat Holmes had as a young man.

In "Touched with Fire" this self-consciousness appears chiefly in a sense of duty and honor. Besides these aris-

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APPLETON-CENTURY

tocratic values Holmes unfortunately also had a good bit of upper-class intellectual snobbism. "While I'm living *en aristocrat* I'm an out-and-outer of a democrat in theory, but for contact, except at the polls, I loathe the thick-fingered clowns we call the people—especially as the beasts are represented at political centers." (A stay in Washington—"that modern Gomorrah"—was the occasion of this outburst.)

Allied with his aristocratic sense of duty is Holmes's relation to his father, which is easily the book's greatest source of interest. Two of the letters to his father are downright boastful: after complaining about the "blowing" of others, he writes—"I really very much doubt whether there is any Reg't wh. can compare with ours in the Army of the Potomac." It is obvious that he strongly wanted his father to know that he "had done his duty." And, in fact, he had—with distinction.

But in 1864, when nearly all his early fellow-officers had been killed or wounded and he himself had suffered several wounds, he decided not to re-enlist after the disbandment of his regiment. He felt—and doctors confirmed—that his strength was no longer equal to the burden of active campaigning. He "didn't any longer believe in this being a duty," he wrote. It does not become clear whether this change in belief was due simply to his personal condition, to his view of the war, or to the fact that after three years of fighting he had become a man in his own eyes, with no further need to prove himself one to his father.

DAVID T. BAZELON

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE influence of Paul Klee has had, in the past ten years or so, a more immediately rewarding effect upon contemporary painting than that of Matisse, Picasso, or Miro, who are all greater than he. The latest evidence of this has come, suprisingly enough, from Paris, which in contrast with England and this country had until recently shown an indifference to Klee. The only new Parisian painters of any originality to be exhibited in New York since the war—Dubuffet and now Victor Brauner—are both products of his school. Brauner, Rumanian and surrealist, used to turn out neo-academic pictures of tables with wolf's legs and heads and human testicles. Judging by the ten or twelve of his more recent paintings shown at Julien Levy's last month, he has undergone a remarkable transformation since 1939—that is why I call him a new painter. His old canvases revealed a glimmering of some sort of obscured talent and the presence of a perverted sincerity; he was irrelevant but, unlike most other surrealists, he was irrelevant in an affecting way. Now, however, he has produced some actually good painting which, if it is less important than Dubuffet's as statement and manifestation, is not inferior in intrinsic quality.

Brauner's new paintings and tinted drawings are done in wax, which he was forced to use because of a shortage of oil colors during the war. This medium compels a flatter and tighter handling and excludes the broad modeling that oil invites. Brauner has abandoned his former smoky effects for a flat-patterned, ornamental, emblematic kind of painting that clings as closely to the picture surface as inlay work—which indeed it resembles. He also demonstrates an entirely unexpected inventiveness as a draftsman, an inventiveness that has nothing to do with the usual surrealism but stems directly, more directly than his color, from Klee.

Brauner, coming after Dubuffet, Mark Tobey, and Morris Graves, raises more sharply than ever the question why Klee's influence should be so much more immediately fructifying than Picasso's, whose influence has certainly been greater in extent and more pervasive. Here is a former third-rater who now, suddenly, is well on the way to becoming accepted as an important *petit*

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maître under Klee's tutelage, and there are five or six others like him abroad in the world; whereas of those who follow Picasso closely, hardly one—not Graham Sutherland in England or Pignon and the other epigones in France—has been able to realize himself half so satisfactorily.

The explanation is both obvious and complex. Picasso's influence carries with it the flavor of a potent personality, and the style he formed for himself, in the later even more than in the earlier stages of cubism, is designed to accommodate that personality. Artists taking his style as a point of departure find it difficult to disembarrass themselves of Picasso's personality, difficult to push it out of the way and fill in with their own. Even Picasso himself has since 1925 been largely unable to supply the power and fulness his original style requires and must resort to inflation. Painters with talents self-assured and imperious enough to shape these mighty means to their own ends are in any case very rare. (If Jackson Pollock has been able to profit by Picasso, it is because he has diluted him with Miró and Kandinsky.)

Klee, on the other hand, is a small artist—genuine, enormously original, a master, but nevertheless *diminutive*, working within a restricted range; an interior decorator rather than an architect. His personality, however authentic and intense, does not oppress but rather frees the painter who comes under his influence. If the artist's temperament is a modest one, as is usually the case in a period like ours that drives passionate people away from art, contact with Klee encourages him to release it in sincerity rather than suppress it in imitation. Seeing how much Klee made of relatively little, the aspirant is moved to confess how little he himself has and to make the most of that little. While Picasso tempts one to inflate and distend himself and deny weaknesses, Klee invites one to tell all—work your brushpoint idly over the surface, let it be a seismograph that answers every tremor in yourself: invent, invent.

Picasso asks you to construct rather than invent, to survey the terrain of your emotion more consciously and build upon it the largest and most substantial edifice possible—not, like Klee, to send up demountable tracery and momentary mists of color. This does not mean that Picasso is more "intellectual" or deliberate than Klee; he works, in fact, faster than Klee did, and with less meditation. It is simply that he sees the picture as a wall where Klee sees it as a page, and when one paints a wall one has to have a more comprehensive awareness of the surroundings and a more immediate sense of architectural discipline—though Klee's sense in that respect, if slighter in scale, should not be discounted.

It is the old difference between Nordic and Mediterranean. Klee's influence has been reinforced by the fact that the centers of artistic production having moved northward—even within France itself—fewer new artists appear whose native milieux instil temperamental affinities with Picasso's positive, public, monumental style. Klee's private lyricism is more sympathetic to those who come from industrial countries, where the effort to assert a private life of emotion displaces the ambition to externalize and to synthesize a total view of the world.

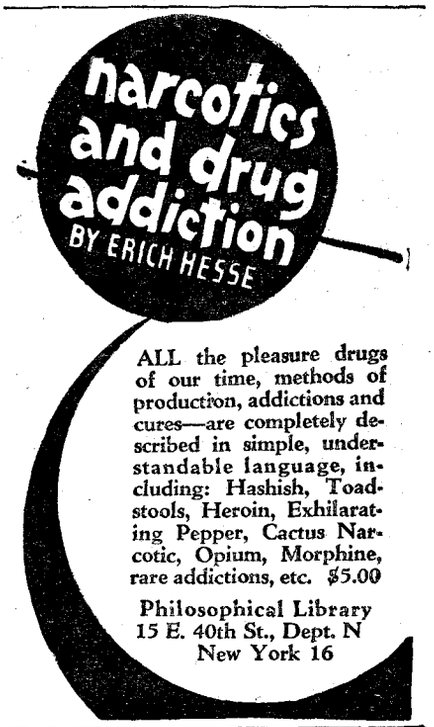
Yet the doubt persists whether Klee's art, as compared with the still unexploited potentialities of the cubist heritage, has enough carrying power to support a school of major importance. I myself would say that even the earlier abstract painting of Kandinsky provides a firmer *point d'appui*. So far none of the products of the Klee school has been able to do more than make an original initial statement of his personality and then stop short, with nowhere else to go. Witness Graves and Tobey. And Klee himself, in the last decade of his life, found that his means were no longer adequate to express what he still had to say. Therefore one awaits Dubuffet's and Brauner's next moves with pessimism—less warranted perhaps in the case of Dubuffet since he has more bravado than is usual with Klee's disciples.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

FORM and analysis seminars have one useful purpose, at least," wrote this column's favorite correspondent, and my most recent source of information about the way music is taught in the universities. "Nobody who spends his time in one of them actually analyzing pieces of music will ever be dogmatic about form again." That is the exaggeration of youth: aged sobriety would say that nobody *should*. "I have been amazed at the variations which Mozart, the 'most formal of composers,' can produce: structures perfectly logical in their organization, perfectly capable of saying what he wants to say, yet impossible to cram into any textbook form. The people in the seminar, when they began to hit these sports (in terms of the textbook) naturally first tried to do just that; but as they progressed they discovered that the sports were more frequent than the 'normal' forms; and the result has been frustration: the terminology has broken down, and that's always a bad thing for the student mind—it means he has lost his anchor."

This was a seminar; in the classes below seminar-level students are not confused in this way. It would seem axiomatic that ideas about music should be derived from experience of the music; but the students in theory classes do not normally get their ideas of musical language and form from first-hand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examination of the language and forms of the works of the great composers: they get them from the textbooks of theorists "whose grammatical knowledge," said Tovey, "is based upon no known language."

Nor is this true only of the teaching of theory. In a course in history in which, my correspondent tells me, exactly one meeting was devoted to the English madrigal and lute schools—not to the music of one composer, but to the entire varied output of all the composers—and two meetings to the entire eighteenth-century comic opera, there is no time for the deriving of ideas from the music itself. "I made the mistake of looking into the subject of eighteenth-century comic opera, and it was two weeks before I was able to get out of it again. All this past week I have been going hammer and tongs at the Italian and English madrigal schools, so that I am now about to be familiar enough with enough of the music to feel that I know something about it; but in the meantime the history class is heaven knows where—I don't."

Most of the members of that class presumably have acquired a "knowledge" of the English madrigal and lute schools consisting of a series of names in their notebooks, each name with a sentence or two of description and evaluation copied out of a book or taken down in class. My correspondent, on the other hand, has derived from his experience of the music his own ideas and estimates of the various composers, which have led him to suspect that some of those descriptions and evaluations in books and lectures were themselves not acquired from experience of the music.

His reward for his work, he writes, has been his discovery of the music of Dowland—"the most famous of the English lutenist song composers: and for once it is a fully deserved reputation"—and Gesualdo. "Historically, Gesualdo is one of those rare and fascinating individuals, a sport"—which "makes him difficult to handle if you are writing history in terms of trends;" and so he was long ignored. "But even more interesting than the fact that he stands outside of his time is the fact that he wrote great music: of its sort some of the most powerful I have ever heard." And "it is a matter of history (Grove, II, P. 373) that the ten volumes of his works went through not less than 25 different editions between 1594 and 1626, one of them, the third book of 5-part madrigals being reprinted five times. Consequently it is not surprising that Lang concludes ('Music in Western Civilization,' p. 327): 'Many, if not the majority, of Gesualdo's madrigals must, however, be considered closet madrigals, because their frightful, ragged, unvocal writing makes their performance by a vocal ensemble well-nigh impossible.' That they are hard to sing cannot be doubted; that they are possible to sing is quite as obvious; that Gesualdo's contemporaries sang them is fully demonstrated by the bibliographical record: why does Lang have to manufacture a myth? All this colorful patter about 'frightful, ragged, unvocal writing' is a bald-faced fabrication which an examination of the madrigals disproves in a moment: I have found in them a rare diminished fourth, and occasionally a diminished fifth—which even sight-singing students are taught to sing, and which constitute the 'frightful, ragged, unvocal writing.'"

Then, "Einstein is perhaps even more renowned for his studies in the madrigal than for his Mozart studies. Consequently, in his 'Short History of Music,' it is not amazing to find that all he has to say about Gesualdo (and Marenzio also, for that matter) is (p. 60) that 'Rore initiated a chromaticism which . . . in the compositions of Luca Marenzio and Gesualdo da Venosa was to lead to extremes of daring—but not based upon clear harmonic perception and hence not fully absorbed by the main stream of development.'" Of the four madrigals of Marenzio that my correspondent has been able to examine only one—printed in Schering's "History of Music in Examples"—has a section that is markedly chromatic; "and all the modulations in this passage are either an applied dominant-to-tonic relation or an alternation of major and minor mode, while in addition one progression exhibits the essential features of what would now be called a modulating sequence. I am under the delusion that all these (a) demonstrate clear harmonic perception, and (b) have since been absorbed by the main stream of development." And on the other hand "Gesualdo's chromaticism was not based on the major-minor, tonic-dominant relationships which ultimately prevailed: why should it have been? But to claim that it is not based on clear harmonic perception is to deny the evidence of one's ears: in every example I have been able to run down it always comes off—provided one is not so hog-tied by tonic-dominant prejudice that one can't hear it for what it is."

But on examination papers—in answer to the question "Discuss the following: (a) Gesualdo . . ."—students who haven't heard a note of his music will write: "His extreme chromaticism was not based upon clear harmonic perception and hence not fully absorbed by the main stream of development. The frightful, ragged, unvocal writing in his madrigals makes their performance by a vocal ensemble almost impossible."

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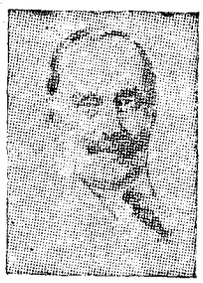

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Letters to the Editors

The Soviet Tartars

Dear Sirs: In the second part of his Britain Without Empire (*The Nation*, April 12), Mr. Laski says: "But there is good reason for assuming that we could do in Malaya a great work patterned upon the remarkable achievements of Soviet Russia with its national minorities, notably with the Tartar Republic."

As an expert on Russia, Mr. Laski ought to have known that the Tartar Republic as well as a few others were liquidated during the war for "disloyalty" to the Soviet government. The majority of the populations of the liquidated regions have been exiled to Siberia. MARKOOSHA FISCHER

New York, April 30

[According to *Soviet Russia Today*, the Tartars in the U. S. S. R. have been mainly concentrated in two sections of the country, the Middle Volga and the Crimea. The Tartar Autonomous Republic on the Volga, which has a population of over 3,000,000, was not liquidated nor were its inhabitants deported. The other large settlement of Tartars was in the Crimea, where about one-fourth of the 1,132,360 inhabitants were Tartars. When the Germans occupied the Crimea, says *Soviet Russia Today*, "many of the Crimean Tartars succumbed to their propaganda and aided the enemy. After the liberation of the Crimea . . . the Crimean A. S. S. R. was demoted from the status of an Autonomous Republic to that of an Autonomous Region, and the Crimean Tartars were sent away." – EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Who Talks for the Arabs?

Dear Sirs: The Higher Arab Committee for Palestine claims to represent the Palestine Arabs as a whole; in reality, it represents only a small minority of the population, mainly the effendis and the feudal landlords. As the spokesman of the Palestine Arab delegation, Mr. Ghouri, has admitted, the Mufti is the head of it. But the Mufti no longer has as many followers as he had some years ago. Proof of this is the fact that his efforts to arouse the Arabs of Palestine to a pogrom against the Jews have utterly failed. Observers agree that many of the Arabs of Palestine are siding with the Jews: they give shelter to fugitive Jews hunted by the British and carry on relations with the Jews as good neighbors.

Many leading persons among the Moslems who form more than 90 per cent of the Arab population are friendly toward the Jews. Proof of it is found in the murders of Arabs committed by agents of the Mufti: no fewer than twelve have occurred in recent months, in addition to twenty murders of Arab spiritual and political leaders during the recent war. Many of the Khaldis and Nashashibis, the most ancient patricians of Palestine, would come to an understanding with the Jews if they were only sure that the Mufti and his party had no longer the support of the British government, which is now backed by the Americans. The majority of the Arabs of Palestine are voiceless. They are patronized by the Arab League, which is united only in its anti-Zionist attitude—the League was the creation of the late Lord Moyne and the notorious General Spears, who quite recently defended the Mufti.

Furthermore, the most vociferous supporters of the "Arab cause" are to be found among the Arab Christians, who form less than 10 per cent of the Arab population of Palestine. At every turn you find Arab Christians of Palestine in the forefront of the struggle. Even the Palestine Arab Higher Committee is guided by Arab Christians: Mr. Ghouri, the spokesman of the Palestinian delegation, is a Christian. The *Falastin* of Jaffa and many other newspapers edited by Christian Arabs have printed the most poisonous and vitriolic diatribes against the Jews.

The Lebanese Moslems also are playing the game of the Arab League against the majority of the Christians of the Lebanon, represented by the Maronite Patriarch and the Archbishop of Beirut, who on several occasions have expressed their sympathy for the Jews of Palestine.

The allegation of Mr. Ghouri, in his letter of May 5 addressed to the United Nations, that "the Arabs have never recognized the Mandate over Palestine or any act or body deriving from it" does not coincide with the facts. Emir Feisal, later King of Iraq, was acknowledged by the British government and the Allied and Associated Nations of the First World War to be the official spokesman of all Arab countries, including Palestine, and he officially recognized the Balfour Declaration.

At that time the Mandate was opposed by only a few Arabs—some of the Husseinis, the family of the Mufti, and some members of the Abd Al-Hadi, a family of great landlords near Nablus.

The Palestine Arab Higher Committee has no right to claim recognition as a representative of the Arabs in Palestine; it cannot be compared with the Jewish Agency, which has an international legal status.

The British army deserves a better fate than to be the tool of Bevin and Attlee in suppressing the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine. And the British people, who have always protected the minorities of other countries against violence and injustice, would act differently if they were told the truth about the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine. A. S. YAHUDA,

Professor, the New School for Social Research

New York, May 8

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Our Marxist President

Dear Sirs: As you know, aid to Greece is intended to prevent the spread of Communist ideology, of which, according to the Truman Doctrine, misery is the carrier. This doctrine is, I regret to say, subconscious Marxism. It was in his introduction to "Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie" that Marx, some eighty years ago, established the theory that the political system is merely the superstructure of economic conditions. According to his *Verelendungstheorie,* the inevitable concentration of capital will eventually result in expropriating the expropriators, that is, in socialism.

There can be no doubt that our distinguished President plans to employ this theory in reverse. In his view the menace of communism can be averted by alleviating the poverty of the Greek people. This subconscious Marxist apparently does not believe in the power of ideas, or, as they are now called in this country, "philosophies." If he seriously wishes to counterbalance the "red menace"—and not merely to set Anglo-American imperialism against Russian imperialism—he should offer not only $250,000,000 but an *ideology* which appeals as strongly to the imagination of the masses as that of Marx and Lenin did. Unfortunately the ideology of "free competition" is negative and therefore insufficient. Administering a rebuff to communism is no substitute for a positive and hopeful idea. However, Mr. Truman and his fellow-travelers are so deeply imbued with their subconscious though erroneous Marxism that they believe they can stop communism merely by feeding the proletarian descendants of Plato and Aristotle.

An ideological alternative to communism was of course offered by Senator Vandenberg, when in his answer to Gromyko he spoke of the "conflict between communism and democracy." But even a high-school graduate should know that communism is an *economic* concept, democracy a *political* or at most a *social* one. Therefore they are not true equivalents.

I think Truman and his fellow-travelers in their ideological vacuum are adherents of Schiller:

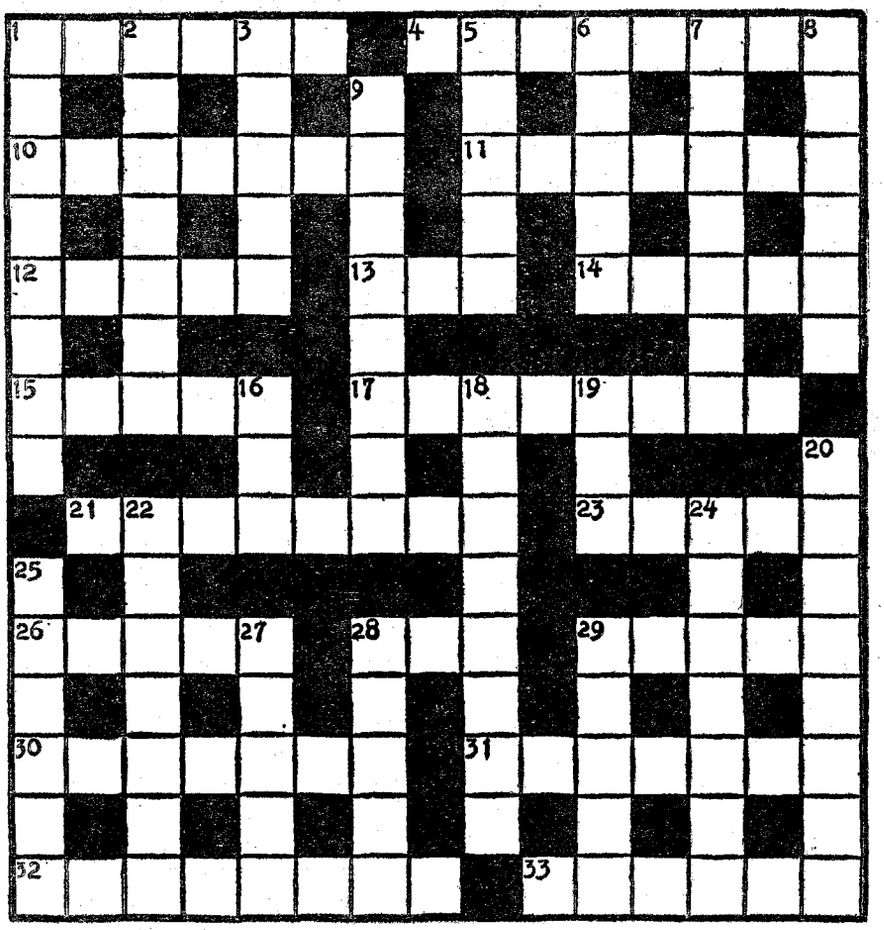
> Bis einst Philosophie die Welt
> im Innersten zusammenhält,
> erhält sich ihr Getriebe
> durch Hunger und durch Liebe.

HERBERT JAMES

New York, April 8

Crossword Puzzle No. 212

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Talk by a player
4 A lark
10 I've the instruments to write with, and hope to be getting the thoughts
11 They give out or not, as the case may be
12 Not the way the Germans spell the river
13 Service of the stick
14 Girl in novels I enjoy
15 Provide for
17 Seen Ross? (anag.)
21 Resounding call to organize, sir
23 The Mock Turtle might associate this with the helping hand
26 He backed the wrong horse
28 A Spanish queen
29 "He lives to build, not -----, a generous race; No tenth transmitter of a foolish face"
30 Eyed
31 Her gout is harder to bear
32 Its battlements were haunted
33 Bad oar in a boat

DOWN

1 Useful for one who decides to give smoking a rest
2 Be fast and furious (3 & 4)
3 The upper crust
5 No demand for plums
6 But not enough for a sample
7 Checks
8 Sue comes in the end
9 Out of form?
16 Welsh or Levant, perhaps
18 Eats one's words
19 A loop of the Nile
20 Shown, perhaps, in a close-up
22 They motor a girl about
24 Greek coin
25 Parisian heaven—but see an English cathedral
27 Seems doubly arresting to do so (3 & 2)
28 Berries that keep flies out of the house
29 Some of the publisher's burble is in this form

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 211

ACROSS:—1 CORNERS; 5 MOBBING; 9 ALPHA; 10 TNT; 11 GATES; 12 BLEACH; 15 KIMONO; 16 HOLDING; 17 REED; 19 SWAN; 21 ATHLETE; 22 STUD; 23 GRID; 25 CLATTER; 27 AVENUE; 29 DARIEN; 33 GLUCK; 34 COL; 35 OPERA; 36 RATIONS; 37 CANDLES.

DOWN:—1 CLAMBER; 2 RUPEE; 3 EPARCH; 4 SITS; 5 MATE; 6 BIGWIG; 7 INTRO; 8 GOSSOON; 13 HOSTILE; 14 ODD LOTS; 15 KNOTTED; 18 EMU; 20 WAR; 22 STAGGER; 24 DENIALS; 25 CUCKOO; 26 RACCOON; 28 EXULT; 30 IDEAL; 31 ICES; 32 ALEC.

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THE
PALESTINE PROBLEM
and
Proposals for Its Solution

●

An Abridged Version of a Memorandum to
The General Assembly of the United Nations

Submitted by:

Freda Kirchwey, *President*
The Nation Associates

Henry A. Atkinson, *Secretary*
The Church Peace Union

Raymond Swing

James G. Patton, *President*
Farmers Educational and
Cooperative Union

Philip Murray, *President*
Congress of Industrial
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Frank P. Graham, *Chairman*
Advisory Council
The Nation Associates

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The Progressive Citizens
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MAY 17, 1947 Volume Number 164 In Two Parts: Part Two

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A Nation Supplement

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INTRODUCTION

THE United Nations meets in extraordinary session two years almost to the day since its foundation in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. In Germany Allied war tribunals are still condemning those Nazis responsible for the massacre of the Jews. But Jewish survivors of the Nazi terror still languish in detention camps. Barbed wire bars them from freedom on the island of Cyprus, and in Palestine the restrictions set up under the White Paper provide a barrier equally impassable.

The Charter of the United Nations reaffirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." It undertakes "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained."

The Palestine case, now before the United Nations, is a challenge to the conscience of mankind. More than that, it is a challenge to the honor of the United Nations, its capacity to maintain peace, and its willingness to extend the area of human rights and dignity.

Today on the continent of Europe 1,369,800 Jews remain alive out of a pre-war population of 6,500,000, exclusive of the Soviet Union, which had a Jewish population of 3,000,000, half of whom were destroyed by the Nazis. The mass slaughter of the Jewish people was accomplished by the Nazis without effective interference from other nations.

Not until the war's end did the world come to know the full details of a horror so dark it defied belief—the story of more than six million Jews herded into camps, deported, starved to death, tortured to death, gassed to death, burned to death, or massacred in the towns where they lived.

The argument may be valid that no general measures of rescue were possible during the war years. But it must also be said that the Nazi extermination program was planned by Hitler even before he came to power and was put into effect, bit by bit, throughout the years of bloodless conquest between 1933 and 1939. The pattern was everywhere the same: withdrawal of citizenship, suppression of organized opposition, denial of livelihood, expropriation of property, humiliation of the individual, and finally deportation and death. Few of those who could have been saved—even those who sought safety in flight—were saved, for no country was willing to open a single door to rescue a single life.

One people in one country was prepared to welcome these victims—the Jewish community in Palestine. But the doors of Palestine too were slammed shut in the face of the suppliants. The British White Paper, enacted in May, 1939, limited immigration to 75,000 in five years, at the rate of 15,000 per year. This restrictive order, which was declared illegal by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, was enacted, quite frankly, in an effort to appease the Arabs.

This act of appeasement, like other similar acts of the Chamberlain government, resulted in failure. The White Paper violated the Mandate, but it did not buy the loyalty of the Arabs. Their war record was one of enmity and double-dealing. The Jews, on the other hand, though injured and betrayed by the restrictions imposed in the White Paper, played a notable role in the defeat of the Axis.

In the following record we show:

1. That a Jewish state in Palestine was promised to the Jews of the world and indorsed by the nations of the world.
2. That the White Paper of 1939 and the British announcement of the independence of Transjordan were in contravention of the terms of the Mandate.
3. That the British Labor Party, after 1920, and most recently on the eve of its victory in the 1945 elections, promised to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and to establish there a Jewish state.
4. That there is no hope of rescue for the survivors of Hitler's extermination program apart from Palestine.
5. That the present policy of the British is based on the mistaken belief that only by continued support and appeasement of the Arab rulers and politicians can their threatened position in the Middle East be safeguarded.
6. That the intimidation program of the Arabs is led by men who organized and carried out the Arab campaign of sabotage against the United Nations.
7. That the threat of a general Arab revolt is a form of political blackmail and cannot possibly be put into effect.

And, last, we propose a program based on the realities of the present situation, to be enacted in three parts: for the immediate future, for an interim period while political adjustments are being made, and for the long range.

At the war's end the common assumption was that the first victims of Hitlerism would be the first to be rescued by a sympathetic world. That the doors of Palestine would be promptly opened to the Jews was taken for granted, especially after the Labor Party came to power in Great Britain.

President Truman, within two months after the end of the war, dispatched Earl Harrison to Europe to investigate the plight of the Jews. Upon receiving his report, on August 31, 1945, the President requested the British Labor government to open Palestine to the 100,000 Jewish refugees then in the German displaced-persons camps.

Almost two years have passed. The refugees have not been admitted to Palestine except in insignificant numbers, even though the Anglo-American Committee—the eighteenth commission of inquiry since the Balfour Declaration—studied the problem anew in 1946 and again requested the admission of 100,000.

Today the refugee colony in Germany, Austria, and Italy numbers almost 250,000. Every method of exclusion and repression has been utilized by the British government to prevent the entry of these people into Palestine.

Behind this policy is the larger purpose of seeking support for British imperial interests, both material and strategic, from the ruling elements among the Arabs, even at the cost of defending a decadent feudal and hierarchical social

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system and at the same time violating the commitments embodied in the Palestine Mandate.

It is this indefensible situation which our program aims to abolish. For we believe that the rescue of the surviving Jews of Europe and the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine are wholly compatible with the legitimate interests of the Arabs as well as those of Britain and the other Western nations, including the United States.

PROPOSED PLAN FOR PALESTINE

WE PROPOSE, and intend to show in the chapters which follow, that the United Nations, in the interests of peace, human dignity, and security, should adopt a clear-cut plan for the development and political control of Palestine and bring about its acceptance by the British government, the Jews, and the Arabs. As preliminary steps, to prepare the way for a full inquiry and a workable decision, we urge:

1. That the General Assembly uphold the ruling of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations declaring the White Paper of 1939 illegal, and request that it be expunged from record and practice.

2. That the General Assembly repudiate the unilateral action of the British government establishing Transjordan as an independent kingdom without authorization of the United Nations.

In order to meet the long-range, interim, and immediate needs of the situation, we propose:

In the Interests of a Permanent Solution—

1. That two independent states be created, a Jewish state and an Arab state.

2. In planning these states account should be taken of the original area assigned under the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, now known as Palestine and Transjordan, and the concessions already made to satisfy Arab demands.

3. That the Jewish state be established in a contiguous area large enough to constitute a viable national territory and to allow for the absorption of as many of the surviving Jews of Europe as wish to immigrate.

4. That both states, however constituted, guarantee equality of rights to all inhabitants without distinction of race or religion, and that all communities be given full autonomy in the administration of their religious, educational, and social institutions.

5. That the Jewish state grant official recognition to the Arabic language and to Arab schools.

6. That upon the establishment of the Jewish state and the Arab state, both be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

A number of plans have been suggested to implement the general idea proposed above. We recommend special consideration of the two plans summarized herewith:

Plan 1. The Jewish state should be established in an area of 10,400 square miles, to include those parts of Palestine, chiefly in the west, already closely settled by Jews, together with additional areas of Palestine at present undeveloped and lightly populated, including 4,500 square miles in the Negev and an area of 3,400 miles, now either uninhabited or very sparsely settled, to be detached from Transjordan.

The Arab state would include Transjordan, less the area detached, and an area of 3,300 square miles, to be detached from Palestine, in which some 500,000 Arabs now live. A new Arab state would thus be established in an area of 34,600 square miles.

Since historically Transjordan has always been a part of Palestine aand was comprised within the area to which the Balfour Declaration was intended to apply, the addition to Transjordan of 3,300 square miles would complete the process of satisfying Arab demands for an independent state begun in 1922 when Transjordan was separated from Palestine by the mandatory power.

Plan 2. Another proposal with respect to the area in which the Jewish state should be constituted provides that the state should be established in those parts of Palestine, chiefly in the west, already closely settled by Jews, together with 4,500 square miles of the Negev. The Jewish state would thus be constituted in an area of 7,600 square miles.

The Arab area would comprise the remaining 2,800 square miles of Palestine, including the hill district of Samaria, forming a rectangle with Nablus as the center, now exclusively inhabited by an Arab population.

This area could either be constituted as an independent state or, if both parties agree, merged politically with the adjoining state of Transjordan. The Arab state, if this union were agreed upon, would be established in an area of 37,200 square miles.

As an Interim Program—

1. Until the process of creating the two states has been completed, we propose that the Mandate be withdrawn from Great Britain and that Palestine be placed under the United Nations, with a High Commissioner appointed by the United Nations and the protection of an international police force.

2. In this interim period the United Nations should initiate the economic development of the region through such undertakings as the proposed Jordan Valley project.

As an Immediate Program—

1. The present British military force should be reduced to its normal garrison size and be retained until the international police force can take over, and martial law should be ended.

2. In view of the urgent needs of European Jewry, 250,000 Jews—the present Jewish population in the D. P. camps—should be admitted immediately into Palestine and settled in those sections certain to be allocated to the Jewish state.

3. Until such time as the Jewish state is actually created,

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authority should be transferred to the Jewish Agency to regulate immigration. The Jewish Agency should be recognized as the official provisional representative of the Jewish state to be established.

The solution proposed above is not ideal. It will not be wholly satisfactory to Great Britain, to the Arabs, or to the Jews. It is, however, capable of fulfilling, at least in part, the fundamental aspiration of both Jews and Arabs—the aspiration to independent nationhood. Such a solution, moreover, offers the one hope of securing peace in Palestine.

THE NEED FOR MIGRATION

FIVE hundred thousand Jews in Europe, almost half of the surviving Jewish population, "may wish or be impelled to migrate from Europe," according to the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

An exhaustive study by the committee, country by country, revealed an active anti-Semitism which, added to the impoverishment and the psychological horror of living in countries responsible for the slaughter of their families and friends, has produced a frantic desire, as well as a need, to emigrate.

In the words of the committee, while "the governments of the countries we visited expressed their opposition to anti-Semitism . . . this is a poison which after years of infection takes years to eradicate."

When the Anglo-American Committee's report was published on April 20, 1946, there were 74,000 Jewish displaced persons in Germany. Today, in the American military zones in Germany and Austria and in the British zones in Germany and Italy, there is a Jewish displaced persons population of 247,337. The dissolution of UNRRA and the inability of the International Refugee Organization immediately to assume its responsibilities place the Jewish D. P.'s in a very precarious situation.

Jews in Europe Today

Of the 5,978,000 European Jews destroyed as a result of the Nazi extermination program between 1939 and the war's end, Poland lost 2,800,000; the occupied area of the Soviet Union, 1,500,000; Rumania, 425,000; Hungary, 200,000; Czechoslovakia, 260,000; France, 90,000; Germany, 170,000; Austria, 40,000; Lithuania, 135,000; Holland, 90,000; Latvia, 85,000; Belgium, 40,000; Yugoslavia, 50,000; Greece, 60,000; Italy, 15,000; Bulgaria, 7,000; and miscellaneous countries, 6,000.

The property losses suffered by the Jewish people in the Nazi-occupied areas totaled approximately eight and one-half billion dollars, a sum amounting to approximately one-half of the pre-war wealth of Poland, and two billion dollars more than the entire farm income of the United States in 1941. Included in the property losses were about one million business, industrial, and professional establishments, in addition to the losses sustained by the community, such as the destruction of virtually all Jewish institutions.

Although abrogation of all discriminatory legislation was ordered by the Allied military authorities and confirmed by the Potsdam agreement, there has been a steady flow of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe toward Palestine. The abrogation of discriminatory legislation has not restored to the Jews a sense of security or made it possible for them to become self-sustaining, nor has the restitution of property and indemnification proceeded smoothly; little has been done to restore property or provide compensation for damage or to create the basis for self-support.

In Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia a majority of the Jewish population is dependent upon relief from overseas.

Of the large proportion of Jewish wealth consisting of movables, securities, and funds, the greater part was carried away, consumed, or is now in the possession of persons who either cannot be traced or are not affected by existing legislation. Industrial and commercial enterprises, even if restored, are shells. Stocks and machines have been sold or have just disappeared. Real estate, in the relatively few cases that it has been returned to the original owner, is in a state of great dilapidation.

Anti-Semitism Still Strong

Colonel Stanley R. Mickelsen, director of the Displaced Persons Division of the United States Military Government, in response to a question as to whether or not anti-Semitism was decreasing among the Germans, told the Anglo-American Committee: "I don't think there is any change among the Germans. Outwardly, yes, but inwardly, no—inwardly, anti-Semitism is still strong."

Bartley C. Crum, American member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and author of "Behind the Silken Curtain," says also, "Our military frankly fear for Jewish lives if our armies are withdrawn."

An increase in anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria is reported by members of the Anglo-American Committee despite the fact that in a city like Vienna only 4,500 Jews remained at the time of their inquiry, and in a country like Germany only 20,000.

Time and again, said Bartley Crum, witnesses have stated: "Once Hitler and the Nazis sought to exterminate us. Hitler made the plan but it was the peoples of Europe, regardless of nationality, who were our executioners. Hitler wanted us exterminated in Poland, but it was the Poles who executed us; Hitler wanted us exterminated in Rumania, but it was the Rumanians who executed us; and so it was in Slovakia, in Hungary, in Bulgaria, in Austria, and elsewhere."

Conditions in the D. P. Camps

In April, 1946, when the Jewish D. P. population in the American zone numbered 74,000, Judge Simon H. Rifkind, Adviser on Jewish Affairs to the Commanding General of the American Forces in the European Theater, reported that what the D. P.'s require is "everything."

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But above all else they need to know today that tomorrow will not bring a continuation of their present state of suspense. In order to live peacefully they must learn today that tomorrow will bring them nearer their goal. They need a home they can love, a soil they can cherish, an atmosphere they can breathe without resentment. They require a chance to strike root, to work for a living, to raise a family. They must get away from the scenes of their torture and grief.

I am convinced that the problem of these Jews of Europe is insoluble without Palestine. It is the one place available for mass migration. The Jews of Palestine are eager to receive their European brothers. In Palestine these Jews will find the warm welcome they so earnestly desire and need. They will find a home and an end to their wanderings. . . . The group ties they have developed will not be shattered but will continue. Their culture will be tenderly nursed and will again contribute its part to world civilization.

A year later the problem had not been resolved and the number of Jews in the D. P. camps had multiplied almost threefold. Describing how the Jews in the D. P. camps live, Judge Rifkind said:

How do these Jews live? The one-word answer to that question is—abnormally. Family groups are practically unknown among them, because the members of their families are dead. They are destitute, because the Germans stripped them of everything. A child is a rare treasure among them, because extermination of the young was a high Nazi priority. Few of them can follow their normal callings; most of the younger ones have never learned a trade or acquired a skill. To work and save for the future is meaningless because the German marks have no value outside of Germany. They are surrounded by a hostile population, whom they hate with an intensity beyond the capacity of words to describe. They suffer from psychological and physical ills as a result of their experiences in the concentration camps. Their whole civilization, so laboriously and so lovingly created over the centuries, has been brought low; its leadership is dead; its institutions, religious, educational, social, and economic, have been demolished. Every factor which contributes to normal living in the world as we know it is conspicuously absent in the lives of these people. Moreover, since liberation they have suffered painful disappointment and disillusionment. They had expected the miracle of liberation to be followed by world-wide welcome extended by a repentant mankind, which had permitted them to suffer such barbarism. Instead, they awoke to find themselves in the chilly atmosphere of a displaced-persons center with every avenue of escape to a land of freedom and dignity closed to them. They see their persecutors live in better homes, wearing better clothes, listening to the laughter of their children. They see their enemies resume the threads of organized existence while they themselves live from minute to minute waiting for the unpredictable tomorrow. Is it any wonder they are impatient with sluggish investigations, judicial inquiries, and long-winded resolutions? The amazing thing is that despite this history and despite these provocations these men have so far kept their heads and sustained their faith.

Bartley Crum states that in one poll where D. P.'s were asked to put down a second choice if Palestine were unavailable, hundreds said, "The crematorium."

The D. P.'s and Security

The G-5 Division of the United States Army, European Theater, reported on January 1, 1947:

For those able to make an accurate evaluation of facts, the displaced-persons problem represents one of the greatest human tragedies in history. . . . The displaced persons have a temporary haven in Germany even though it is a country they hate. . . . But for the future welfare and eventual normal adjustment of these people this situation cannot be permitted to endure much longer.

The army's report also emphasizes that the primary desire among displaced persons is "to get out of Germany. The Jewish refugees have united among themselves to demand immigration to Palestine."

In the spring of 1947 reports of the movement of some 140,000 Jews in the displaced-persons camps toward Palestine was reported. On April 7, 1947, both the American army and War Department officials in Washington made it clear that they were powerless to block a mass underground movement of Jews to Palestine from Austria and Germany this spring.

While explaining that the United States has not closed the borders of the United States zone in Germany against Jews arriving from Eastern Europe since V-E Day, the army report emphasizes the urgent necessity of finding a place of permanent settlement for them, both in order to relieve the financial burden which the American taxpayer is carrying and in order to rehabilitate people who "are potentially useful citizens." The report points out that of the 39,000 visas available under the President's directive of December 22, 1945, 26,000 represent the pre-war quota to German nationals and still available to them annually. Thus only 1,100 per month are available to displaced persons coming from other countries.

Moreover, the army points out, the continuance of such a large population of displaced persons could conceivably become dangerous. In this connection it says:

The great majority of them are law-abiding and sincerely grateful to the United States, but idleness, a monotonous diet, limited activities, and the inability to lead normal lives may in time breed a feeling of frustration which might break out in any number of ways.

Tension is growing among the Germans, who are resentful of the impact on their economy of displaced persons, as well as refugees and expellees. There is a growing feeling of opposition between various categories of displaced persons themselves. If trouble flares up, it may spread rapidly and create a security problem of great magnitude, with Germans or other subversive elements taking advantage of the resulting confusion.

Refugees Could be Moved in a Month

That, once a decision is reached, the Jews in the displaced-persons camps could be moved with dispatch was established in the testimony of officials of the American army and the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

Colonel Mickelsen reported that the United States could move 100,000 Jews by rail to Marseille or to Bari within one month.

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Colonel D'Arcy Stevens said that the camps in Austria could be cleaned out in two weeks.

Brigadier General Ralph H. Tate, General Clark's Chief of Staff, begged the Anglo-American Committee to move the refugees from the D. P. camps.

Bartley Crum, in his book, quotes Brigadier General Tate as telling the committee, "Gentlemen, I wish you godspeed in your labors. We need your help. For God's sake, help us —we are at the end of our rope."

Richard Crossman, in "Palestine Mission," says:

> In the nine months since V-E Day an appalling demoralization had set in which could not be halted by good food or accommodation or educational facilities. Every month which passed accelerated this process of moral decay and of corrosive bitterness against Britain and America. We had long talks with high American officers on the technical problems of transportation and were surprised and relieved to hear that, at the European end, not more than a month would be required to organize the clearance of every assembly center, the movement to a port of embarkation, and the voyage itself.

Paul McCormick, a representative of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, told the Anglo-American Committee, "Give us a green light to move these people and we could transport 100,000 to Palestine with little difficulty."

ARE THERE OTHER COUNTRIES TO WHICH THE JEWS CAN MIGRATE?

SAYS the Anglo-American Committee: "Such information as we receive about countries other than Palestine gives no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe." This is confirmed by an examination of the immigration laws and policies of the countries in the United Nations with the largest areas and the best facilities for new settlers.

Australia, with an area of 3,000,000 square miles and a population of 7,000,000, has since 1920 negotiated a series of treaties with almost all Eastern and Southern European countries, in which the latter agree to limit the number of passports issued to their nationals desiring to go to Australia. About 8,500 Jewish refugees were admitted before the war, adding to a Jewish population of approximately 24,000.

In 1945 the Minister of Immigration announced that no immigration would be encouraged until economic security was guaranteed, including the demobilization, rehabilitation, reemployment, and rehousing of all veterans and war workers. Discriminatory powers are vested in the Governor General of Australia to prohibit or limit permanently or for a certain period various categories of immigrants.

Canada, with an area of 3,690,410 square miles and a population of 11,506,605, has rigid legislation which since 1931 has reduced immigration to a virtual standstill. The government has shown no inclination since the end of the war to enact more liberal laws. About 2,000 Jewish refugees were admitted to Canada during the war. The Governor General has discriminatory powers to restrict immigration or limit it permanently or for a stated period, either because of economic conditions or because of the character of would-be immigrants.

In *New Zealand,* with an area of 113,350 square miles and a population of 1,631,414, immigration is generally frowned upon; and the authority to prohibit the entry of persons of any nationality, race, class, or occupation is in the hands of the Governor General. There are now approximately 4,000 Jews in New Zealand.

The Union of South Africa, with an area of 473,000 square miles and a population of 11,248,000, has a definite anti-immigration practice. The Immigrant Selection Board and the Union Commissioner for Immigration are vested with discretionary powers to admit immigrants. Since 1940 virtually no Jewish immigrants have been admitted.

The United States, with a population of 132,000,000 and an area of 3,000,000 square miles, has since 1924 rigidly curtailed immigration through the institution of a quota system. The chief purpose of this was to limit the admission of persons from Eastern and Southern Europe. Under this system no more than 153,879 can enter the United States in any given year from all countries; and no more than 24,222 can enter in any given year from Eastern and Southern Europe.

The total annual quota of countries in Central and Eastern Europe, from which the majority of the displaced persons come, is a maximum number of 3,900 visas a month. From 1933 to 1943 the United States accepted a total of 499,998 aliens, of whom 168,128 were Jews.

In South America, with large areas of rich and unexploited territory, strictures against immigration are widespread.

Argentina has an area of 1,085,000 square miles and a population of 14,130,871. Major restrictions were introduced in that country in 1933. Its preference is for agricultural workers, and the general attitude of the government is against Jewish immigration.

In *Brazil,* with an area of 3,276,000 square miles and a population of 45,300,000, the new immigration law of September, 1945, retains the quota system which has been in operation since 1935, limiting the quota of any country to 2 per cent of the total number of respective foreigners established in Brazil during the past fifty years. While since 1900 up to World War II about 47,000 Jews had entered the country, during the war and ever since it has been closed to Jewish immigration.

Mexico has a population of 25,178,495 in an area of 764,000 square miles. It is opposed to immigration in general and to the admission of Jews in particular, preferring to keep its population as strictly Spanish as possible. An immigration law passed in 1935 set up a quota system sharply curtailing immigration from Eastern Europe.

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Chile, with an area of 297,000 square miles and a population of 5,237,432, virtually barred Jews in 1943. At that time its Jewish population was 25,000. A new decree of January, 1946, establishes high financial requirements for immigrants—proof of possession of large sums to insure maintenance—which makes refugee immigration unlikely.

Laws having the effect of barring Jewish immigration have been passed by *Bolivia* and *Paraguay.*

Colombia admits only artisans equipped to work in the chemical industry. It prefers immigrants of the Catholic faith.

Uruguay has a more friendly attitude toward Jewish immigration.

President Trujillo of the *Dominican Republic* has stated that his country is prepared to admit a large number of Jewish immigrants, in connection with the D. O. R. S. A. colonization project, which proved, however, to be a failure because of the lack of the proper natural conditions.

The government of *Venezuela* has discussed the possibility of admitting immigrants, although its requirements are for agricultural workers of nationalities which are apt to be "assimilable."

THE JEWISH CLAIM TO PALESTINE

THE Balfour Declaration was issued by the British government on November 2, 1917. Prior to its publication it had been passed on and approved by President Woodrow Wilson. On February 9, 1918, it was approved by the French government and on May 19, 1918, by the Italian government. On April 25, 1920, it was also approved by the Allied conference at San Remo, where the mandate for Palestine was assigned to Great Britain.

The mandate was ratified by the Council of the League of Nations and came into force on September 29, 1923. Fifty-five nations agreed to the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine mandate.

The Balfour Declaration said:

> His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Provisions of Mandate

Under the Mandate, recognition is given to "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for constituting their national home in that country." The mandatory government was made responsible for "placing the country under such political administration and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home as laid down in the preamble and in the development of self-governing institutions."

Article VI of the Mandate provides that "the administration of Palestine will insure that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, that they shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency referred to in Article IV, close settlement by Jews on the land, including state lands and waste lands not required for public purposes."

The territory covered by the Balfour Declaration in 1917 included Palestine and Transjordan, an area of 45,000 square miles; and the Palestine Royal Commission, in its report of July, 1937, confirmed that "the field in which the Jewish National Home was to be established was understood at the time of the Balfour Declaration to be the whole of historic Palestine."

Article IV of the Mandate provided for the recognition of what has now become the Jewish Agency for Palestine, declaring:

> An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.
>
> The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

Balfour Declaration Issued to Jewish People

Ample evidence exists to show that the Balfour Declaration was intended to secure Jewish support for the Allies in World War I. This purpose was specifically stated by the Royal Commission of 1937 under the chairmanship of Lord Peel. Lloyd George, Prime Minister at the time the Balfour Declaration was issued, wrote:

> The Zionist leaders gave us a definite promise that if the Allies committed themselves to giving facilities for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, they would do their best to rally to the Allied cause Jewish sentiment and support throughout the world. They [the Jews] kept their word in the letter and in the spirit.

On June 29, 1920, Lord Curzon took the same position. Winston Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons on July 24, 1922, also stated that the Balfour Declaration was issued in order to obtain both moral and financial support from the Jews of the world, particularly in the United States and Russia. In 1939, in the course of a Parliamentary debate on the White Paper, he confirmed this, declaring:

> It was not made to the Jews of Palestine, it was not made to those who were actually living in Palestine. It

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was made to world Jewry and in particular to the Zionist associations. It was in consequence of and on the basis of this pledge that we received important help in the war, and that after the war we received from the Allies and Associated Powers the mandate for Palestine. This pledge of a home, of refuge, of an asylum, was not made to the Jews in Palestine but to the Jews outside Palestine, to that vast, unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a National Home.

This last point was emphasized in a letter from the Colonial Office to the Palestine Arab delegation, embodied in the Palestine White Paper of 1922, which refers to the Balfour Declaration as "a pledge made by the British government to the Jewish people."

No Pledge of Arab State

The Arabs have repeatedly claimed that the British government, at the end of World War I, promised them the establishment of an independent state in Palestine. This claim is based largely on the correspondence between Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner in Egypt, and the Sherif of Mecca, King Hussein of the Hejaz, in which the British in exchange for help given by Hussein in organizing the revolt of the Arabs against the Turks, promised, according to the Arab interpretation, to support the independence of the areas proposed by Hussein, including Palestine.

In June, 1922, Winston Churchill denied this and stated that "the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge."

Sir Henry McMahon himself, in a letter to the London *Times* on July 23, 1937, denied that such a pledge had been made to King Hussein. In this letter, he said:

> I feel it my duty to state, and I do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Hussein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised.
>
> I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Hussein.

In May, 1939, the White Paper on Palestine confirmed that no pledge was made that Palestine should become an Arab state. It said:

> His Majesty's Government regret the misunderstandings which have arisen as regards some of the phrases used. For their part they can only adhere, for the reasons given by their representatives in the report, to the view that the whole of Palestine west of Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge, and they therefore cannot agree that the McMahon correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab state.

Arab Statesmen Favored Jewish Palestine

Not only does no evidence exist that Palestine was to be an Arab state, but there is proof that Arab statesmen favored giving Palestine to the Jews. On January 3, 1919, Emir Feisal, then representing the Arab kingdom of Hejaz, signed an agreement with Dr. Chaim Weizmann approving the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. According to this declaration Emir Feisal agreed:

> All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land through closer settlement and intensive cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights, and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.

He further agreed that "in the establishment and constitution and administration of Palestine all such measures shall be adopted as will afford the fullest guaranties for carrying into effect the British government's declaration of the second of November, 1917."

Emir Feisal, in his agreement with Dr. Weizmann, had attached a rider in which he stated that "if the Arabs are established as I have asked in my manifesto of January 4 addressed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I will carry out what is written in this agreement. If changes are made, I cannot be answerable for failure to carry out this agreement."

The Royal Commission Report of 1937 maintained:

> That condition was not fulfilled then, but it is on the eve of fulfilment now. In less than three years' time all the wide Arab area outside Palestine between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean will be independent.
>
> The fact that the Balfour Declaration was issued in 1917 in order to enlist Jewish support for the Allies, and the fact that this support was forthcoming, are not sufficiently appreciated in Palestine. The Arabs do not appear to realize in the first place that the present position of the Arab world as a whole is mainly due to the great sacrifices made by the Allied and Associated Powers in the war, and secondly, that the Balfour Declaration helped to bring about the Allied victory, which helped to bring about the emancipation of all the Arab countries from Turkish rule. If the Turks and their allies had won the war, it is improbable that all the Arab countries, except Palestine, would now have become or be about to become independent states.

How well the British fulfilled their pledge to secure independence for the Arab areas may be gauged from the fact that independent Arab states now exist in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan. Apart from Egypt, with an area of 386,000 square miles and a population of 18,100,000, fourteen million people occupy an area of 1,228,950 square miles in the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, and Iraq.

In the United Nations the Arab states have five seats.

Palestine, with an area of 10,400 square miles, represents less than one per cent of the area occupied by and under the control of the Arab people.

Did Britain Promise a Jewish State?

Six months before the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, in May of 1917, the British government was definitely committed to the policy of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine under Britain. In the original version of the pro-

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posed Balfour Declaration the British government was prepared to state specifically its desire to see Palestine reconstituted as a Jewish state and the national home of the Jewish people. That it failed to do so was due in large part to the objections of wealthy British Jews, some of whom were represented in the British Cabinet, and to anti-Zionist forces in the United States as well as in Great Britain.

In the formula in which the Balfour Declaration was issued Lord Balfour, then the Foreign Secretary, interpreted it to mean that an independent Jewish state would gradually be developed. Lloyd George quoted the Balfour position in his "Memoirs" as follows:

> As to the meaning of the words "national home," to which the Zionists attach so much importance, he understood it to mean some form of British, American, or other protectorate, under which full facilities would be given to the Jews to work out their own salvation and to build up, by means of education, agriculture, and industry, a real center of national culture and focus of national life. It did not necessarily involve the early establishment of an independent Jewish state, which was a matter for gradual development in accordance with the ordinary laws of political evolution.

Lloyd George's own view was that the British Cabinet which issued the Balfour Declaration had in mind the ultimate establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

Lord Robert Cecil, a member of the British Cabinet at the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, in explaining its meaning at a demonstration held at the London Opera House on December 2, 1917, declared: "Our wish is that Arabian countries shall be for the Arabs, Armenia for the Armenians, and Judea for the Jews."

Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for War, wrote in the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* of February 8, 1920:

> If, as may well happen, there should be created in our own lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish state under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire.

In the United States a similar interpretation was given to the Balfour Declaration. On March 3, 1919, President Wilson said:

> I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth.

SUBVERSION OF THE MANDATE

NO SOONER had the Mandate for Palestine been granted than the mandatory government undertook a series of activities which sharply limited and contravened its pledges.

In 1922 Transjordan was separated from Palestine and an area of 34,700 square miles was closed to Jewish immigration and settlement. The area in which the Jewish National Home could be established was thus reduced to 10,400 square miles.

Even in this diminished area, no active policy was pursued by the mandatory government. Except for the electrical and potash concessions little specific action was undertaken to promote the Jewish National Home by the British government. Even in the matter of immigration the number of those admitted fell below the absorptive capacity of the country as created by the Jews themselves.

Jewish settlement on the land was not encouraged. Practically no agricultural state lands were set aside for this purpose. Nor were the agrarian and fiscal systems helpful to Jewish colonization.

The White Paper of 1939

In 1933 Hitler came to power, and there developed the campaign of anti-Semitism climaxed during the war period by the extermination of six million Jews.

In the years between 1933 and 1939 country after country came within the Nazi orbit and established the Nazi policy of oppression and exclusion as its own. The pressure of the Jews to escape from the Nazi advance and certain destruction became frantic. This was the moment, in May of 1939, three months before the outbreak of the actual fighting, when the British government chose to issue its White Paper, under which Jewish immigration to Palestine was to be ended at the close of a five-year period.

This action was taken despite the fact that Britain was fully aware that there were almost no countries in the world outside of Palestine to which Jews could flee. For Britain was a co-convenor of the International Refugee Conference at Evian in 1938, which established the fact that the Jews were trapped in Europe, since virtually all doors, other than those of Palestine, were closed to them.

The same White Paper instructed the High Commissioner to prohibit the transfer of lands to Jews in specified areas. It provided also for the establishment within ten years of a Palestine government based on the actual population of the country. A year after the issuance of the White Paper land regulations were enacted under which Jews were completely prohibited from acquiring land in 63 per cent of Palestine, and severely restricted in another 32 per cent.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, in a memorandum submitted to the Anglo-American Committee in March of 1946, revealed in detail the fashion in which Britain, by its refusal to admit refugees into Palestine, became responsible for exposing them to the Nazi extermination program. The Jewish Agency says:

> The blows came to the Jewish people at a time when the Nazi government was intensifying its campaign against the Jews. But even the outbreak of war and the capture of over 3,000,000 Polish Jews produced no change of heart.
>
> Before hostilities commenced, the Jewish Agency asked for the immediate admission of 20,000 children from Po-

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land and 10,000 young men from the Balkan countries, the latter to reinforce man-power in Palestine. These requests were rejected; it was apparently feared that at such a pace the quota of 75,000 would be used up too quickly. The Polish-Jewish children went to Maidenek and Auschwitz instead, while of the young Jews in the Balkans many died and many were forced to work for Hitler. The fear of impending massacres expressed by the Jewish Agency at the time was written off as spurious. So the hopeless tug-of-war continued, the Jewish Agency trying to rescue Jews as quickly as possible, the government trying to dole out the quota as slowly as possible.

After the holders of pre-war permits had been admitted, a ban was imposed on all further immigration from enemy countries, on the ground that Nazi agents might come in. In May, 1940, the Jewish Agency appealed for the exemption of children and of certain adults of assured identity. The decision took nearly two years. No exemption was then granted in favor of adults. The concession regarding children came too late.

Meanwhile groups of Jews had managed to escape from Europe and reach Palestine. Their entry was held to justify a complete suspension of the issue of new permits even to parts of Europe which were not yet enemy territory. Thus quotas were withheld for the half-years October, 1939, to March, 1940, and October, 1940, to March, 1941. The latter period immediately preceded the German invasion of the Balkans. Only a few hundred emergency permits were granted for Balkan Jewries at the time, mostly too late. The government actually advised the Jewish Agency to save up permits for post-war use when they could be given to Jews from Germany, who were of a better type than those from the Balkans.

The search for boats carrying Jewish fugitives and the prevention of their landing became a major concern of the authorities. In November, 1940, the government announced that Jews coming illegally from Europe would not be allowed to land, but would be interned elsewhere and not be admitted to Palestine even after the war. As a reaction, the Patria, with 1,771 Jewish refugees on board awaiting deportation, was blown up and sank in the port of Haifa. About 250 of its passengers were drowned and the survivors landed and interned. A further 1,700 refugees who had been landed were, with a considerable use of violence, reembarked and deported to the island of Mauritius. From there they were released and brought to Palestine only at the end of the war, after over 100 of their number had died of disease. In December, 1940, 230 refugees, including many children, perished when the tramp steamer Salvador foundered in the Sea of Marmora. They had hoped to proceed overland from Istanbul, but no visas were available. In March, 1941, 793 refugees, mostly fleeing from the massacres in Rumania, arrived on board the Darien. In view of the vessel's condition they had to be landed, but for seventeen months they were kept in detention under the threat of deportation. On February 24, 1942, came the Struma tragedy. That boat had stood in the port of Istanbul for nearly two months waiting for Palestine visas. In the end only children were allowed to proceed, but the decision came too late. The Turkish authorities had turned the vessel back into the Black Sea, where it sank. Of its 764 passengers, only one survived. . . .

After the Struma disaster the rules were relaxed. It was decided to admit and gradually release all refugees from Europe who got to Palestine on their own. At the same time it was made clear that nothing would be done to help them get there. In a communication to the Jewish Agency in May, 1942, the British government said: "In pursuance of the existing policy of taking all practicable steps to discourage illegal immigration into Palestine, nothing whatever will be done to facilitate the arrival of Jewish refugees in Palestine."

It should be borne in mind that at that time no facilities existed in the Balkans for obtaining visas to Palestine. The only way for a refugee to seek legal admission to Palestine was to reach Istanbul and apply to the British consul there. But at Istanbul he was already considered "illegal."

Late in 1942 authentic reports about the wholesale extermination of the Jews became public. Under their impact the government, in the middle of 1943, agreed to facilitate the journey to Palestine of all refugees reaching Istanbul. Yet this decision, of which the Jewish Agency was informed confidentially, was not published, nor was it, for a further nine months, communicated to the Turkish government. This robbed it of much of its value.

There can be little doubt that substantial numbers who are dead today, certainly tens of thousands, might have been alive if the gates of Palestine had been kept open.

White Paper Contrary to Mandate

The terms of the White Paper were carried out by Great Britain despite the fact that it was opposed in the House of Commons by such distinguished public figures as Winston Churchill; the Right Honorable Leopold S. Amery, former Colonial Secretary; Herbert Morrison, now Deputy Prime Minister, Philip Noel-Baker, now Secretary of State for Air; and others.

The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations also ruled against it. At its thirty-sixth session in June of 1939, the commission held unanimously that " the policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the mandatory power and the Council, the commission has always placed upon the Palestine Mandate."

On March 6, 1940, Philip Noel-Baker, then Labor M.P., moved a resolution in the House of Commons censuring the British government for its action in implementing the White Paper in disregard of the opinion of the Mandates Commission.

Nor was the action of the British government justified by conditions in Palestine itself. In 1937 the Royal Commission had pointed out that "there was land available and a general willingness to sell, that the land had been proved suitable for intensive cultivation, and that satisfactory financial arrangements could be devised." Moreover, the Royal Commission affirmed that "the Arab charge that Jews have obtained too large a proportion of the good land cannot be maintained. Much of the land now carrying orange groves was sand dunes or swamp, and uncultivated when it was purchased."

Palestine as a Crown Colony

The Royal Commission of 1937 found, moreover, that the form of government which the British had imposed on Palestine "is not a suitable or natural form for the Jewish section

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of its population. . . . Crown-colony government is not a suitable form of government for a numerous, self-reliant, progressive people."

Ten years later the Anglo-American Committee found that "the Palestine government continued to operate on the Crown-colony pattern." The Anglo-American Committee charged, in fact, that this system "militates most gravely against the chances of reconciliation between Jew and Arab. Palestinians were not promoted to head departments of the administration, in which the responsible officials like the members of the Executive and Advisory Councils remained wholly British, as did those on the district level. . . . Demands for a greater voice in government came from both the Arab and the Jewish communities."

The Anglo-American Committee unanimously recommended rescinding the land-transfer regulations of 1940 and replacing them by regulations based on a policy of freedom in the sale, lease, or use of land, irrespective of race, community, or creed, and the provision of adequate protection for the interests of small owners and tenant cultivators. In urging this they declared that the effect of the land laws of 1940 was "such as to amount to discrimination against the Jews," and denied that the free sale of land would create a considerable landless Arab population.

Transjordan Independence

British action in flouting the terms of the Mandate reached its climax on January 17, 1946, when the establishment of Transjordan as an independent state was announced. The unilateral action of the British was taken without any reference to the authority of the United Nations as the successor to the League of Nations or to the provisions of the United Nations Charter with respect to mandated territories.

Moreover, Britain encouraged the present tactics of the Arab states by inviting their participation in discussions about Palestine, a privilege not given them by the Mandate.

JEWISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN PALESTINE

DESPITE the lack of help from the mandatory power, the Jews' achievements in Palestine, brought about by their own efforts and with the support of funds and other backing from the Jews of the world, have been considerable. They are found in the development of the Jewish community in Palestine, in the benefits accruing to the Arab population, and in the tremendous support given to the British war effort in the Middle East. They are reflected also in the growth of population and in the advances in agriculture, industry, and education.

The Jewish population in Palestine in the first years after World War I amounted to some 55,000. By the end of 1946 this population had increased to 625,000 through immigration and natural increase. The Jewish death rate fell from 12.37 per 1,000 of settled population in 1922, to 6.30 in 1946. With improved hygienic conditions the infant mortality rate dropped from 128.86 per 1,000 live births in 1922 to 32.6 in 1946.

Agriculture and Industry

Jewish agriculture has been developed through irrigation, drainage of swamps, improvements in the methods of soil cultivation, and the rotation and diversification of crops. The number of agricultural settlements grew from 70 in 1922 to 290 in1946, and the Jewish ownership of land from 649,000 dunams in 1922 to 1,765,000 in 1945.

Still more spectacular was the development of agricultural production. The Jews owned 11,000 dunams of citrus in 1922 and about 145,000 dunams in 1946. In the last seven years (1939-46) the production of milk increased from 34,500,000 liters to 72,000,000 liters. The yield of wheat per dunam rose from 75 kilograms in 1927 to 120 kilograms in 1936, and of barley from 113 kilograms to 180 kilograms. The area under cultivation of vegetables and potatoes and the yield per dunam increased considerably during the war years.

Before World War I Palestine was on a primitive level of industrial development. During the last twenty-five years, and especially during the war years, industry has made unprecedented gains.

	1922	1937	1942-43
Number of Enterprises..	1,850	5,606	6,143
Number of Industrial Workers	4,750	30,040	45,000
Production—£ P.	500,000	9,109,000	15,000,000

At the end of the war Jewish industry and handicrafts employed 60,000 workers.

The generating capacity of central power stations went up from 700 kilowatt-hours in 1923, to 76,500 kilowatt-hours in 1942-43. During the same period electrical power used in factories and workshops rose from 1,400 horse-power to 58,300 horse-power. Diamond polishing, an entirely new branch of industry, developed during the war years, employing some 4,000 people and producing £ P 7,000,000 worth of diamonds yearly.

Education and Culture

With this growth came the development of Jewish education and culture. The number of pupils in Jewish schools rose some 10,000 in 1921 to 80,000 in 1944-45. The government contributes only 10 per cent of the cost of the educational system. The Hebrew University, with a staff of 154 and a student body of 1,000, the Hebrew Institute of Technology in Haifa, and the School of Law and Economics in Tel Aviv grew up as institutions of higher learning. Reading for Jewish Palestine is supplied by a wide network of dailies and periodicals and a number of publishing houses. The cultural needs of the community are served by three or four theaters, a symphony orchestra, a conservatory of music, and a great number of extension courses, lectures, and the like.

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BENEFITS TO THE ARABS

THE Arab League's claim that the Jewish development in Palestine has worked to the detriment of the Arab community is challenged by the report of the Anglo-American Committee, as well as by leading American experts.

The Arab population in Palestine has increased from 589,000 in 1922 to 1,061,000 in 1944. "The extension of the Arab community by natural increase has been in fact one of the most striking features of Palestine social history under the Mandate," reports the Anglo-American Committee.

> The high Arab rate of natural increase is accounted for by a fertility which is among the highest recorded in the world and by the disappearance under the Mandate of such counterbalancing factors as conscription for the Ottoman army and a high incidence of malaria. The fact that the rate is still rising seems to be due principally to declining mortality, particularly infant mortality.

Royal Commission Cites Benefits

In 1937 the Peel Commission had called attention to this fact. The network of hospitals, child-welfare centers, and clinics, the establishment of a private water supply, the building of roads, and the renovation of the railroad system were attributed in largest part to the Jews and to the funds placed at their disposition by the Zionist organization and other bodies.

"In fact," said the Peel report, "the establishment of the Jewish National Home has so far been to the economic advantage of the Arabs as a whole."

> The large import of Jewish capital into Palestine has had a general fructifying effect on the economic life of the whole country. The expansion of Arab industry and citriculture has been largely financed by the capital thus obtained. Jewish example has done much to improve Arab cultivation, especially of citrus. Owing to Jewish development and enterprise the employment of Arab labor has increased in urban areas, particularly in the ports. The reclamation and anti-malaria work undertaken in Jewish "colonies" have benefited all Arabs in the neighborhood.
>
> Institutions founded with Jewish funds primarily to serve the National Home have also served the Arab population. Hadassah, for example, treats Arabs patients, notably at the Tuberculosis Hospital at Safad, and the Radiology Institute at Jerusalem admits Arab country-folk to the clinics of its Rural Sick Benefit Fund and does much infant-welfare work for Arab mothers.
>
> The general beneficent effect of Jewish immigration on Arab welfare is illustrated by the fact that the increase in the Arab population is most marked in urban areas affected by Jewish development. A comparison of the census returns in 1922 and 1931 shows that six years ago the increase per cent in Haifa was 86, in Jaffa 62, in Jerusalem 37, while in purely Arab towns such as Nablus and Hebron it was only 7, and at Gaza there was a decrease of 2 per cent.

Opinions of American Experts

Robert R. Nathan, former deputy commissioner of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion and former chairman of the Planning Committee of the War Production board; Oscar Gass, former economist of the Treasury Department; and Daniel Creamer, economic expert for the Department of Commerce, spent two years of exhaustive research in Palestine, Europe, and the United States on the present and future outlook of Palestine as the Jewish National Home. Their conclusions were presented in a volume entitled "Palestine: Problem and Promise," published in 1946, in which they declare:

> Zionist reconstruction has brought the Arabs of Palestine a higher standard of living than is found elsewhere in the Arab Middle East. Jewish demand has provided an important market for Arab agriculture, and Jewish enterprises have provided some employment for Arab labor. Jews paid Arabs perhaps £P 15,000,000 for the 380,000 acres of land (6 per cent of the area of Palestine) in Jewish ownership at the end of 1943. Jewish tax payments have been the principal support of the services in health, education, agriculture, and public roads furnished to the Arabs by the government of Palestine. The Arabs are healthier, longer-lived, and more numerous because of Jewish accomplishments.

In fact, they say:

> No reliance can be placed upon the prospects of inducing the Arabs of Palestine to leave the country and migrate voluntarily to the non-populated areas of Transjordan, Syria, and Iraq. Only the most lavish compensation would induce any substantial number of Arabs to go to countries with a lower standard of living.

Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, assistant chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States, in his book "Palestine, Land of Promise," points out that wages for Arabs in Palestine are three times those in Iraq. He says:

> The beneficial effects of Jewish colonization is evidenced by the figures in Arab emigration from Palestine and neighboring countries. During 1929-1930, 9,500 Arabs migrated from Syria and Lebanon to Central and South America—seven times the number of those who emigrated from Palestine. Since the Arab population of Syria and Lebanon, is only three times as large as that of Palestine, there was proportionately twice as much emigration from these countries as from Palestine. In 1939, the demand for visas to America from Syria and Lebanon was about ten times that from Palestine.

Refuting the charges that the Jewish development has produced a landless class of fellahin, Dr. Lowdermilk points out that the total amount of land bought by the Jews "is comparatively small . . . only about 6 per cent of Palestine's 26,000,000 dunams. Most of this land was originally covered with swamps or rocks and considered unsuitable to cultivation; less than one-quarter of it was actually cultivated by the Arabs."

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ARABS AND JEWS IN TWO WARS

THE record of the Arabs in and out of Palestine and of the Jews throughout the world in both wars discloses the sharpest contrast.

In World War I, in the course of which Palestine and the Arab states were freed from the Ottoman Empire, the record shows that whereas "practically the whole available Jewish youth of the colonies [in Palestine] and many of the townsmen of military age came forward for voluntary enlistment in the Jewish battalions, only 150 Arabs were recruited from Palestine out of a population ten times the size of the Jews." Moreover, said Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem, "the Arab revolt in World War I cost British taxpayers eleven million pounds, one million of which went to King Hussein of the Hejaz."

Outside of Palestine Jews constituted 2½ per cent of the 42,000,000 men in the Allied forces, more than twice their proportion of the population in the Allied countries. Of the 1,055,600 Jews who fought in World War I, 116,825 were killed.

Jewish Contribution in World War II

In World War II, 1,300,000 Jews were in uniform in the armed forces of the United Nations: 550,000 Jewish men and women served in the armed forces of the United States; 500,000 in the armed forces of the Soviet Union; 65,000 in the armed forces of Britain.

In Palestine 85,800 men and 50,400 women *volunteered* for war service; 27,028 Palestine Jews served with the British forces in Palestine and France, Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, Abyssinia, Liberia, Greece, Crete, Iraq, Italy, Austria, and the Low Countries. Sixty units of Royal Engineers, transportation, ordnance, electrical, and mechanical services served and ranked high in the estimation of their respective commands. Selected civilian volunteers carried out secret raids in the Middle East and parachute missions in enemy Europe. Half of them lost their lives.

When, as the Anglo-American Committee points out, "the spread of the war zone to the Middle East converted Palestine into a base as well as an arsenal" and "large numbers of troops had to be quartered there," the Jewish community of Palestine furnished the skill, the inventiveness, and the energy to provide for the needs not only of Palestine but of the surrounding countries. The report continues:

> Supplies of food and other necessities of life and of war materials had to be provided locally or imported where possible from neighboring Middle East countries, themselves subjected by the same combination of causes to severe economic pressure. Existing industries were redirected, as far and as fast as possible, into war production. Established undertakings were enlarged and new ones were set up, with government support, in order to contribute to the needs of the military campaign and build up a higher degree of self-sufficiency. In this development the variety of manufactures was broadened to include a number of more complicated mechanical and chemical processes.
>
> Thus Palestine became an important source of supply of manufactured goods not only for military purposes throughout the area but for civilian needs in surrounding countries. The skill and inventiveness of the Jewish immigrants of pre-war years proved an invaluable asset, and the directed effort was supported by the Jewish Agency and the other established organs of Jewish settlement.

Jewish industry increased by over 100 per cent in order to meet the needs of the war. Six hundred new enterprises were established for this purpose; new products, essential for the war effort, were produced.

Arab Role in World War II

In World War II the Arab community of Palestine assumed a most indifferent attitude. The Arab states were in largest part pro-Axis, and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, still the most popular leader of Palestine Arabs, played an active role as an ally of the Axis.

Concerning the attitude of the Arab community in Palestine toward the war effort, the Anglo-American Committee said:

> The Arab community in Palestine, though showing few signs of actual disaffection and offering slight response to Axis propaganda, showed itself largely indifferent to the outcome of the war. Out of a population twice as large as the Jewish, only 12,445 persons were recruited for military service, a figure less than half the Jewish total.

This number was reduced by 50 per cent through desertions and discharges before the war ended.

Of the Arab states only Transjordan declared war on Germany in 1939, and this could be attributed to the fact that the country, a British mandate, was still dependent on grants and aid from the British government.

Iraq declared war in January, 1943, after it was clear that the Nazis were losing.

Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Lebanon failed to declare war on Germany until February, 1945, three months before the war actually ended and when the victory of the Allies was certain. Even these declarations of war involved no direct part in military operations and were authorized only in order to qualify for membership in the United Nations, admission to which required a declaration of war before March 1, 1945.

The Iraqi Revolt

In April, 1941, the government of Iraq, under the leadership of Rashid Ali el Kailani, launched a revolt against the British, and on May 2, 1941, formally declared war on Great Britain.

The Iraqi revolt, fundamental to German strategy, took place at a time when the outlook for the British was darkest.

For two months a precarious battle raged. German and Italian airplanes, refueled in Syria, entered the fight. General Dentz, Vichy High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon, following the instructions of the Italo-German Armistice Commission, rushed trainloads of French arms to Iraq. At the same time the ex-Mufti, working in cooperation with the

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Iraqi military forces, mobilized into activity the subversive elements throughout the Middle East. Because the Greek and British resistance in Greece and Crete held up the German armies, the Nazis were prevented from transporting reinforcements of men and material to Iraq. As a result the British were able to quell the revolt.

Other Arab States Support Iraq Revolt

The Iraqi revolt evoked sympathy in other Arab countries. Farouk, then and now King of Egypt, sent a telegram of congratulations to the rebel Iraqi Regent, Sharif Sharaf.

Hashim Atasi, President of the Syrian Republic from 1936 to 1939 and one of the leaders of the National Bloc (the party now in power in Syria), not only sent congratulations but called upon the Syrians to assist the Iraqi.

Riad as-Sulh, who subsequently served as the Premier of Lebanon from 1943 to 1944, and is now again Premier and was a member of the Lebanese delegation to the United Nations in 1946, also congratulated the rebels.

The Iraqi revolt was reflected in a mutiny against the British by the Transjordan frontier force, reacting to German propaganda. The Palestine Arabs made their contribution through the participation of their émigré leaders in Iraq.

In Syria and Lebanon Arab Nazi organizations flourished throughout the entire period of the Nazi development. Among these organizations were the Iron Shirts, the An-Nadi al-Arabi Club of Damascus, the Council for the Defense of Arab Palestine, the Syrian Popular Party, the National Bloc, and the Istiqlal Club. Baldur von Schirach, head of the Hitler Youth Movement, visited Syria and established close contact with the An-Nadi al-Arabi group and with the Arab youth organizations.

The Mufti's Complicity

The extent of the Mufti's role in the Iraqui revolt was described in a report of the British General Intelligence Service dated December 1, 1941. The report stated:

The ex-Mufti commenced his political activities without check from the first day of his arrival in the country. In these activities he was encouraged by the reception he was accorded on all sides, including parties given by responsible ministers and Nuri Pasha, the Prime Minister himself.

The ex-Mufti soon had his old Palestine "Headquarters" established and modified to suit the new conditions under which he was working. Jamal Husseini was his Chief of Staff. Shaikh Hassan abu Saud was the Islamic religious adviser and expert. Musa bey al'Alami was the legal adviser and critic on Occidental affairs and, with the authority of his background, he spoke convincingly to responsible and willing listeners on the "British injustices." Fawzi al Quokji was the military member and contacted the Iraqi army, raising from this source arms and ammunition and the facilities to train men for guerrilla warfare. Salim Abdur Rahman was press officer and publicist. Ishaq, Munif, Musa and Towfiq Saleh al Husseini, Emil Ghori, Izzat Darwaza, Ibrahim Darwish, Izzuddin ash Shawa, and others formed the foreign-relations committee who were responsible for propaganda, intrigue, and subversive activities inside and outside Iraq.

The ex-Mufti held the money bags and paid these, as well as many other refugees, their allowances, as most had no other livelihood but what they were paid from this source. The ex-Mufti's funds for this purpose were considerable, and it is known that he was voted ID. 18,000 by the Iraqi Parliament, was paid ID. 1,000 a month from Iraqi service funds, was paid 2 per cent of the salary of every Iraqi government official, including the military and police (all stopped at source), considerable sums raised by the Palestine Defense Society, by the Red Crescent Society, and through public collections. In addition, authoritative sources now claim he was paid ID. 60,000 by the Germans and ID. 40,000 by the Italians; he also raised other moneys from outside Iraq—including generous gifts from Ibn Saud and Egypt. This money enabled him, his followers, and even Syrian political reactionaries to live in affluence, many owning cars and keeping up reasonable establishments. Several were beyond doubt also getting additional allowances from Axis sources.

THE GRAND MUFTI IN WORLD WAR II

HAJ AMIN EL-HUSSEINI, the most powerful leader of the Palestine Arabs, has a long-time record of complicity with terrorism. Responsible for the Arab riots in Palestine in 1920, he fled to Transjordan to escape a ten-year sentence of imprisonment, to return to Palestine only after complete amnesty had been granted.

In 1922 he became the Mufti of Jerusalem and later the President of the Supreme Moslem Council, during which period he had at his disposal more than £100,000 a year.

The Shaw commission, appointed by the British government to investigate the 1929 riots, attributed to the Mufti a share in the responsibility for these riots, in which 133 Jews were killed and 239 wounded. No action was taken to curb his activities, with the result that in 1936 he again was responsible for new attacks upon the Jews of Palestine. At the same time he caused the assassination of hundreds of prominent Arabs, including twenty-four leading Palestine Arabs who refused to accept his leadership.

The captured files of the German High Command in Flansburg at the war's end reveal that the Arab riots of 1936 in Palestine were carried out by the Mufti with funds supplied by the Nazis. The report found in the files states: "Only through funds made available by Germany to the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was it possible to carry out the revolt in Palestine."

After his escape from Palestine to Syria and later to Iraq he and his henchmen were directly responsible for the anti-Jewish pogrom, in which almost four hundred Jewish men, women, and children were stabbed or brutally clubbed to death in the streets of Bagdad.

After the failure of the Iraqi revolt the Mufti escaped to Teheran and found refuge in the Japanese embassy. From there he escaped to Italy. In October of 1941 he conferred with Mussolini, Ciano, and Dino Alfieri. From Rome he communicated with Balkan Moslems under Italian rule in Yugoslavia and Albania.

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Agent of the Axis

In December, 1941, he went to Berlin. The Nazis established a special office for him in Berlin entitled "Buro des Grosmufti," with branches organized later in other parts of Germany and Italy. His activities included propaganda, espionage, organization of Moslem military units in Axis-occupied countries and in North Africa and Russia, establishment of Arab legions in an Arab brigade, and organization of fifth-column activities in the Middle East, including sabotage and parachutist expeditions.

In the course of his propaganda work the Grand Mufti had at his disposal not only the German-controlled radio but radio stations in Bari, Rome, Tokyo, and Athens. In addition, he was responsible for sending to the Middle East various propaganda publications in Arabic.

His espionage service extended throughout the Middle East. He had a sub-office in Geneva linking him to Egypt and Turkey, and another in Istanbul, branching out all along the Syrian-Turkish frontier in Mersine, Alexandretta, Antioch, Adana, and Diarbekr. These stations received information directly from the Mufti's agent's in Palestine, Syria, and Iraq, and maintained close contact with members of the German Intelligence in Turkey.

In Athens the Mufti established a parachutist and sabotage school for Arabs.

At The Hague, under his direction, Arab students were trained in wireless transmission, high explosives, and demolitions. The Mufti's agents were parachuted into Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. A number of them were caught by the British. On a number of occasions these agents, with the help of local Arabs, cut telephone and pipe lines in Transjordan and Palestine and sabotaged railways and bridges in Iraq.

Another of the Mufti's accomplishments was the organization of Moslem military units. He attempted to recruit for the German military command some 500,000 soldiers from Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria. In Asiatic Russia he collaborated with Moslem Russian quislings and White Russian traitors, whom he helped to form pro-Axis legions.

In 1942 he started to organize Axis Arab legions of Arab students in Germany and Arab prisoners of war who had followed him to Germany. His legionnaires wore the German uniform with "Free Arabia" patches on their shoulders.

After the Jewish Brigade had been recognized by Winston Churchill in 1944, the Mufti on November 2, with the consent of Ribbentrop, called upon all Arabs in Germany hailing from Palestine, Iraq, Egypt, and Syria to join an Arab Brigade.

Accepting a proposal of the Japanese that he broadcast to Moslems in the South Pacific and India, the Mufti recorded numerous broadcasts which were beamed to India, Indonesia, and Java.

On September 3, 1941, Major General Erwin Lahousen, one of the top officials of the Abwehr, whose secret diary was among the captured German documents, wrote:

> The Grand Mufti, who left Iraq to go to Iran, is currently in connection with the Abwehr II [sabotage division of the Abwehr]. According to reports from Teheran he is safe with the Japanese envoy.

A year later, on July 13, 1942, Lahousen made the further entry:

> A meeting between the chief of the Abwehr and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem took place in the apartment of the chief. I [Lahousen] took part in the discussion. The Mufti made an offer to the chief that the followers of the Arabian Freedom Movement, which was led by him, as well as the followers of the former Iraq Prime Minister, Kailani [leader of the Iraqi revolt against Britain], were to be used for purposes of sabotage and sedition in the Near East in accordance with the purposes of Abwehr II.

The Mufti and Russian Quislings

Edgar Mowrer, in an article in the New York *Post*, revealed the efforts of the Grand Mufti against the Soviet Union. Mr. Mowrer's report was based on private and official papers left behind by the Mufti in his villas at Oybin and Bad Gastein, captured files of the Gestapo and the German Foreign Office, and the files of the Allied Military Tribunal at Nürnberg.

Mr. Mowrer revealed that the Grand Mufti in a series of anti-Russian broadcasts attempted to incite the Moslems of the Caucasus and eastern Russia to turn against Moscow and join the Axis. Mowrer reports that the Mufti was in close contact with numerous Asiatic Russian quislings, including Abbas Ali Dudanginski, chief of the "Azerbaijan Axis Legion."

The American legation in Berne, Switzerland, on November 16, 1943, in a dispatch to the Secretary of State of the United States confirmed the activities of Dudaginski.

> Berlin dispatch November 8 reports meeting there of Azerbaijan conference attended by all Azerbaijan groups under leadership Dudanginski Major Azerbaijan Legion, and by Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and representatives of German state and army and people of Caucasus, Urals, and Turkestan. Conference described as symbolizing expansion of anti-Bolshevik front and emphasizing readiness of Azerbaijan people to fight on German side. First Azerbaijan field battalions statedly active on front for over one year proved their valor during this period were included in German storm troops and decorated by German army (*signed*—Harrison).

Mufti's Role in Extermination of the Jews

That the former Grand Mufti was responsible in large part for the Nazi program of extermination of the Jews was revealed by Edgar Mowrer and confirmed by Bartley Crum in the course of his investigations as a member of the Anglo-American Committee. Discussing his examination of the archives of the Allied Tribunal at Nürnberg, Mr. Crum says:

> I saw another document—a deposition of Dr. Rudolph Kasztner, a Hungarian Jew, who conducted negotiations with the Nazis in an attempt to ransom Hungarian Jews. Many of these dealings were with Adolf Eichmann, the Gestapo specialist in Jewish affairs, who had been the confidant of the Mufti. During his negotiations Dr. Kasztner spoke frequently with one Dieter von Wisliczeny. Von Wisliczeny was at this moment held in a cell in Nürnberg as a war criminal and an important witness. "The Grand Mufti," he said, "has repeatedly suggested to the Nazi authorities—including Hitler, von Ribbentrop, and Himmler—the extermination of European Jewry." The Mufti told Wisliczeny that he "considered this a comfortable solution to the Palestine problem." And Nazi

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records show that, accompanied by Eichmann, the Grand Mufti, incognito, visited the gas chambers of Auschwitz, where hundreds of thousands of Jews were exterminated. Hitler had instructed that in any ransoming of concentration-camp inmates no Jews were to be included because an agreement had been reached with the Mufti that all Jews be exterminated. I also learned that the Hitler-Mufti agreement included relegation of Ibn Saud to secondary importance by making the Mufti the supreme head of a new Pan-Islam. This became clear as I read on. It was the Mufti who insisted to the Nazi leaders that no matter what deals were made, no matter what moneys were paid for the ransom of the Jews, no Jews should be permitted to go to Palestine. Negotiations were under way at that time for the ransom of the Jewish community of Bratislava. These negotiations broke down because the Mufti refused to countenance their being ransomed, and as a result the entire community was liquidated.

Other letters of the Mufti showed that he encouraged the deportation of European Jews to Polish extermination camps. On June 5, 1943, he protested to the Prime Minister of Bulgaria against a plan by the Bulgarian government allowing emigration of 4,000 Jewish children. These children, he argued, presented "a degree of danger to Bulgaria whether they be kept in Bulgaria or be permitted to depart from that country." Instead, he said, they should be sent to a place in which they would be "under stringent control—as, for instance, Poland." The Mufti's protest was successful. No children's transport left Bulgaria after July, 1943. . . .

On July 27, 1944, the Mufti wrote to Heinrich Himmler. Von Ribbentrop and Himmler were too lenient toward the Jews, he declared, because though he had protested to both of them on July 5, 1944, some Jews had been permitted to depart from Germany. "If such practices continue," the Mufti wrote, they will certainly be "incomprehensible to Arabs and Moslems and provoke a feeling of disappointment in them," and he warned that such practices might also encourage the Balkan states to permit Jewish emigration.

Grand Mufti's Escape from France to Egypt

The Grand Mufti, who had been held in forced residence in France at the war's end, found it possible to escape on May 29, 1946, despite the fact that on May 8 it was announced that France had agreed to see that he did not leave for any country in the Middle East.

When news of this flight reached the world early in June, the British put on a great show of making a search for him to insure that he would not settle in the Middle East. On June 9 the Grand Mufti arrived in Damascus. From Damascus he moved to Cairo and was granted asylum by King Farouk, by whom he was received. A month later the Mufti moved from King Farouk's palace in Cairo to one of his villas in Alexandria. In addition to granting asylum King Farouk supplied the Mufti with special liaison officers and the Arab League supplied him with funds.

Under the pressure of the British the Egyptian government requested the Mufti to refrain from participating in politics. But within a few months, as the result of protests in the Arab press, the restrictions were lifted, and the Mufti resumed his role as leader of the Palestine Arabs and unofficial head of the Arab League. The record of the Grand Mufti has lost him no followers. Jamal Husseini, vice-chairman of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, presented a written statement to the Anglo-American Committee which began with the declaration that the Mufti alone could speak truly for the people of Palestine. Moreover, Husseini opened his oral testimony with the statement: "We find ourselves in this inquiry deprived of the presence of our first leader, the Grand Mufti, for whom we can accept no substitute."

Asked about the attitude of the Arabs to the Mufti's war record, Jamal replied: "The Grand Mufti in Germany was working for the interests not of the English, who were warring with the Germans, but of his people, who had no direct interest at least in the controversy."

BRITAIN AND THE ARAB LEAGUE

IN FEBRUARY, 1945, a conference of the Arab states was held and a covenant signed. The signatories were representatives of the governments of Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen. Each country was given a single vote in the organization, and place was left for a representative of the Palestine Arabs.

The conference adopted the following resolution with respect to Palestine:

> At the end of the last war Palestine, like the other Arab states detached from the Ottoman Empire, was liberated from Ottoman domination. Having become autonomous, she was no longer dependent on any other state.
>
> The Treaty of Lausanne proclaimed that her fate would be settled by the interested parties. But if Palestine has not been able to order her own destiny, it is nevertheless true that it is on the basis of the recognition of her independence that the Covenant of the League of Nations in 1919 settled her status.
>
> Her international existence and independence therefore cannot de jure be questioned any more than can the independence of any other Arab country.
>
> If, for reasons beyond her will, her independence has failed to materialize, this circumstance cannot constitute an obstacle to the participation of Palestine in the work of the Council of the League.
>
> The state signatories of the present Covenant consider that, under these conditions and by reason of the special circumstances involving Palestine, until that country can exercise all the effective attributes of her independence, it behooves the Council of the League to designate an Arab representative from Palestine who will participate in its work.

The existence of the Arab League was officially registered at the organizing conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. Since its creation, all its energies have been devoted to fighting the implementation of the Palestine Mandate.

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The formation of the Arab League was the culmination of more than four years of effort which had been encouraged by Anthony Eden. A statement made by Anthony Eden, then Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, on May 29, 1941, stated:

> . . . It seems to me both natural and right that the cultural and economic ties between the Arab countries and the political ties, too, should be strengthened. His Majesty's Government for their part will give their full support to any scheme that commands general approval.

In the preliminary discussions, negotiations, and conferences leading up to the formation of the Arab League, a number of British officials were involved. Since its formal establishment Great Britain has recognized the League and its purposes by inviting it to participate in the various conferences on Palestine.

The Mufti and the Arab League

The Arab League backed an effort to bring about the release and reinstatement of the Mufti long before his escape from protective custody in France.

When the British failed to indict the Grand Mufti as a war criminal, the Arab League decided officially to request his release. After the Mufti escaped from Paris, members of the League discussed Palestinian problems with him in Bludan, Lebanon, in June, 1946. As a result of this conference, it was decided to reorganize the Palestine "Arab Higher Committee" and to leave the position of chairman vacant for the Mufti. Jamal Husseini, vice-chairman of the Higher Committee, attends the meetings of the Arab League, but he receives his instructions from the Mufti. Exiled in Rhodesia by the British for four years as a dangerous pro-Nazi leader, Jamal was permitted to return to Palestine, where he resumed his activities.

On August 15, 1946, the Mufti conferred with the Foreign Ministers of the Arab states and became the actual, though not the official, leader of the Arab League. On September 30 an Associated Press dispatch from Jerusalem stated that "an Arab shadow government had been organized in Alexandria, with the Grand Mufti as the president of the republic; the shadow government presumably had a premier, ministers of state and of war, and a treasurer."

The importance of the Mufti may be gauged from the fact that immediately after his escape the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, joined by the member states of the Arab League, began insistent agitation to demand that an invitation be extended by the British to the Grand Mufti to attend the London Conference on Palestine. The British finally decided to refuse to admit the Mufti, whereupon the Palestine Arab Higher Committee announced that it would refuse to go to the conference and would ask the Arab League to abstain as well—a threat it did not keep.

On December 13, 1946, Jamal el Husseini announced that the Arab League had demanded that Great Britain permit the return of the Grand Mufti to Palestine.

BRITISH LABOR'S PLEDGES ON PALESTINE

SINCE 1917 the British Labor Party at successive conferences, has taken a firm stand in favor of the Jewish National Home and the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish commonwealth. The party and its leading spokesmen have consistently attacked the efforts of various administrations to whittle down the Mandate and its importance.

Pre-Election Pledges

In December, 1944, when the Labor Party prepared its proposals with respect to the international post-war settlement, it adopted a plank calling for the opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and favoring the National Home. In this plank the Labor Party even suggested the possibility of extending the boundaries of Palestine. It set forth its position as follows:

> There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There is a strong case here, based on human grounds, for promoting stable settlement on the one hand and for the transfer of population on the other hand. Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land, and their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they should not seek to exclude Jews from this small area of Palestine by agreement with Egypt, Syria, or Transjordan. Moreover, we should seek to win the full sympathy and support of both the American and Russian governments for the execution of this Palestine policy.

A year later, in April, 1945, the National Executive Committee adopted a resolution on Palestine which became one of its election planks, declaring:

> The committee reaffirms the policy accepted by the annual conference in December, 1944, in regard to Palestine. It therefore calls upon the British government to remove the present unjustifiable barriers on immigration and to announce without delay proposals for a future Palestine, in which it has the full sympathy and support of the American and Russian governments.

The resolutions of 1944 and 1945 expressed a policy advocated consistently since the granting of the Balfour Declaration.

Fought White Paper of 1939

In 1939, when the Chamberlain government adopted the White Paper limiting Jewish immigration into Palestine and restricting land purchase, the Labor Party conference adopted a resolution scoring this action on the grounds that it violated "the solemn pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate." It charged that "the White Paper represents a further surrender to aggression, places a premium on violence and terror, and is a setback to the progressive forces among both Arabs and Jews. It also implies

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new and intolerable restrictions on Jewish immigration at a moment when racial persecution increasingly divides the other countries of the world into those which Jews are forbidden to enter and those in which they find it impossible to live."

In the same resolution the Labor Party reaffirmed its traditional support for the establishment of the Jewish National Home and called on the government to rescind the White Paper.

Promised Jewish State at War's End

Throughout the war period the Labor Party at successive conferences emphasized its historic position in Palestine. Thus at the Labor Party conference in 1940 a resolution was adopted declaring that "in order to remove the root cause of Jewish suffering, and to insure the existence and free development of the Jewish people, international assistance should be given for the continued growth of the Jewish National Home in Palestine by immigration and settlement. The Jewish people should be allowed to make the most of the economic capacity of the country to absorb the immigrants."

In the same resolution the White Paper of 1939 was attacked and the Parliamentary Labor Party instructed to continue to fight against it.

In 1941 the Labor Party went a step farther. The annual conference asked that "the Jewish Agency be given authority to make the fullest use of the economic capacity of the country to absorb immigrants and to develop the country, including the development of unoccupied and undeveloped lands. It demands for the Jewish people equal status among the free nations of the world."

In spite of its consistent and outspoken position on Palestine, the Labor Party since it came to power in 1945 has about-faced and made the White Paper of 1939 the basis of its policy.

OIL, COMMUNICATIONS, AND BASES

WITH nationalism rising in all parts of the Empire and the threat of rival interests gaining a foothold in the Middle East, British government leaders have been afraid to cut loose from men and policies which in the past they have strongly opposed. The imminent withdrawal of British forces from Egypt has made Palestine even more important than before as a strategic area, both in relation to oil and to the defense of the Suez Canal.

To protect this key position, the Labor government has continued the Tory policy of placating and supporting the Arab rulers and in so doing has violated its pledge to the Jews of Palestine and its obligation to the displaced Jews of Europe.

In a debate in the House of Commons on July 3, 1946, Winston Churchill charged that the controversy over Palestine was born of the desire of the Labor government, in the light of "its precipitate abandonment of its treaty rights in Egypt, to look for a jumping off ground in Palestine in order to protect the Canal from outside Egypt. Now, apparently, the one place where we are at all costs and all inconveniences to hold on and fight it out to the death is Palestine. And we are to be at war with the Jews in Palestine, and, if necessary, with the Arabs of Palestine—for what reason? Not, all the world will state, for the faithful dispatch of our long mission, but because we have need . . . to secure a satisfactory strategic base from which to pursue our imperial aims."

Richard Crossman, British M. P., has also charged that the current policy of the British government is related to its desire for a military base in Palestine, particularly in view of the unwillingness of the Egyptian nationalists "to permit any arrangement under which Britain could use Egypt as a base in the event of a threat to British interests in Persia or Iraq."

What these interests are Mr. Crossman explains in his recent book, "Palestine Mission."

> For Britain [he says] Mosul and Abadan are not merely an important supplement to existing domestic supplies. They are her major source of oil; and both are dangerously exposed, both strategically and politically. Politically, because the oil fields are in countries which do not belong to Britain; a hostile power therefore, by ideological warfare, can easily exploit the natural hatred of foreign capitalists. Strategically, because the oil fields lie at the end of long lines of communication across the territory of independent Arab states. Though Suez has become of second importance to British strategy, Mosul and Abadan have become essential to British independence in peace as well as in war.

The determination of Britain to maintain its foothold in the Middle East is illustrated by its actions in the course of the past year in regard to the three Arab states of Transjordan, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia.

Only such a purpose can explain why the British armed forces in Palestine now number 120,000. In contrast, British military strength in Palestine in 1935 was 2,000, in 1930 5,500, and even during the war, never in excess of 25,000.

British Base in Transjordan

In January, 1946, Great Britain, without the consent of the United Nations, announced the independence of Transjordan, which since 1922 had been governed under the Palestine Mandate. On March 22, the British announced the conclusion of a treaty of alliance with Transjordan which recognized that country as an independent kingdom and the Emir Abdullah as its sovereign. In an annex to the treaty provision is made for British bases in Transjordan and the training of the armed forces of that country.

Article 1 provides also that Great Britain "may station forces in Transjordan in places where they are stationed at the date of signature of the present treaty, and in such other places as may be agreed upon, and His Highness the Emir will provide all the facilities necessary for their accommoda-

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tion and maintenance and the storage of their ammunition and supplies, including the lease of any land required. Any private rights on such land will, if necessary, be expropriated."

Article 2 stipulates that the Emir of Transjordan "will grant facilities at all times for the movement and training of the armed forces of His Majesty the King, and for the transport of the supplies of fuel, ordnance, ammunition, and other materials required by these forces, by air, road, railway, waterway, and pipe line and through the ports of Transjordan." Article 3 provides that "the armed forces of His Majesty the King will have the right to use their own systems of signal communication, including wireless."

In Article 8 the British government undertakes to defray "the cost of the military units of the Emir's forces, and the strength of such units will be agreed upon annually" between the two governments.

In addition, the British government undertakes to "provide any British officers whose services are required to insure the efficiency of the military units of the Emir's forces."

On April 2 the Lebanese delegation to the Arab League protested to the Council of the League against the treaty between Transjordan and Great Britain on the score that "at a time when other Arab states are seeking to rid themselves of foreign military forces Transjordan has made concessions to Britain that will be dangerous to her neighbors and harmful to the Arab cause as a whole."

British Arrangements in Iraq and Arabia

In Iraq, which was declared free of the British Mandate in 1932, an Anglo-Iraqi treaty gives Britain air bases, facilities for moving troops and supplies, the right to supply foreign military and civilian advisers and technicians, joint control of the British-built Iraqi railways and port of Basra, and the right to move in troops if war threatens.

The British occupy the key posts in the economy of the country. An Englishman is Acting Controller of Currency and Exchange Control Director. Iraq's foreign trade is controlled in the interests of British exports.

On August 4, 1946, although the treaty provides for the movement of British troops only if war is threatened, the Iraqi government approved a British request to send troops to Basra from India.

That British military supervision "will soon be extended to Saudi Arabia" is indicated in a dispatch printed on January 14, 1947, in the New York *Times*, which stated: "Authoritative quarters [in Cairo] confirmed today that Britain was sending a military mission to Saudi Arabia to organize legions in that country." The mission has undertaken to train and equip Saudi Arabian forces, now numbering 25,000. This is the area where the United States has its richest oil concessions.

Anglo-American Oil Union

A joint Anglo-American political and military policy is a distinct possibility as a result of merged economic interests in the Middle East. A world monopoly on oil is being established by British and American interests, with the participation of the British government and the knowledge and consent of the American government.

Today British and American interests jointly control 86 per cent of the world's oil resources; 42 per cent of those resources are to be found in the Middle East. Five American companies and two British companies, in which Royal Dutch Shell [in which British interests are dominant] has a minor interest, are involved in this combine, which has been in the process of formation since the early days of the war and which completed its arrangements in December, 1946.

Iran: The exclusive concession to the oil deposits of the Iranian and Kuwait fields is held by the Anglo-Iranian Company, which also owns the Abadan refinery, the largest refinery east of the Suez. The British government owns 50 per cent of the shares of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

The Gulf Oil Company of the United States owns 50 per cent of the Kuwait concession.

Iraq: The Iraq Petroleum Company holds the exclusive concession to the oil fields of Iraq, Qatar (now about to be developed), the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Oman. It owns 1,200 miles of pipe line with terminuses at Haifa and Tripoli. A 23¾ per cent interest in the Iraq Petroleum Company is held by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, of which the British government is the principal stockholder. Royal Dutch Shell holds a 23¾ per cent interest in the company, French interests 23¾ per cent; Socony-Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey own approximately 25 per cent of the Iraq Petroleum Company and all its products.

British interests in the Iraq Petroleum Company also own the Haifa refinery, with its 80,000-barrel capacity. Standard of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum have a 30 per cent right to the Haifa capacity.

On July 31, 1928, British, Dutch, French, and American interests, the latter through the Near East Development Corporation representing Socony-Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey, agreed that the participants in the Iraq Petroleum Company would act only through joint operating companies in all matters pertaining to the exploration for and production of crude oil within the defined area. The defined area referred to most of the old Ottoman Empire. This has since come to be known as the Red Line agreement.

Saudi Arabia: The Saudi Arabian concessions are owned by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Company, each of which has a 50 per cent interest. The same companies own the concession at Bahrein Island, as well as its refinery.

On December 26, 1946, an agreement was announced under which the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and the Socony-Vacuum Company acquired a 40 per cent interest in the Arabian-American Company.

As a result King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia receives mounting royalties annually in the millions, and is reported to have obtained advance payments totaling between $15,000,000 and $20,000,000. Some months earlier, on August 5, 1946, the Import-Export Bank granted a $10,000,000 credit to Saudi Arabia. The loan was obtained on notes backed by the Arabian-American Oil Company. On January 26, 1947, a New York *Times* dispatch stated that an additional $15,000,000 had been earmarked for Saudi Arabia by the Import-Export Bank.

On December 26, 1946, it was announced also that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum,

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together with the Anglo-Iranian Company, in which the British government owns a 50 per cent interest, would investigate the possibility of constructing a jointly owned pipe line from the Persian Gulf to the eastern Mediterranean. At the same time Standard Oil of New Jersey undertook to buy for the next twenty years a substantial quantity of crude oil from the Anglo-Iranian Company.

Standard of New Jersey was bound by the Red Line agreement, however, not to enter into the Saudi Arabian oil development without sharing the entire enterprise with the Iraq Petroleum Company. British legal experts advised that inasmuch as the French company, which was a partner in the Iraq Petroleum Company, was incorporated in France, the German occupation of France had the effect of dissolving the group agreement. France was thus eliminated and Standard Oil given a green light. However, French interests brought suit in Britain to contest this decision, and it now appears that the Arabian-American oil deal will be modified to meet, in part at least, their legitimate demands under the Red Line agreement.

The Chase National Bank of New York heads a group of American banks which have agreed to make a loan of $102,000,000 for the further development of the Saudi Arabian concession. The loan, which will extend for a period of ten years, is guaranteed by Standard Oil of New Jersey in the amount of $76,500,000, and by Socony-Vacuum in the amount of $25,500,000.

The United States government has given its sanction to these recent developments. The United States needs to secure oil imports, according to a statement made by the State Department on August 17, 1946. It believes that in twenty years there will be such a drop in the oil resources of the United States as to require in the year 1965 imports in the amount of 50 per cent of the country's needs.

It is interesting to explore the reasons why the Iraq Petroleum Company was willing to give up the Red Line agreement and its share in huge profits. Obviously, the British believed that if American investments in the Middle East were sufficiently large, the United States government would protect the interests of its nationals. In effect, it deliberately sacrificed profits from Arabian oil for the support of the United States. Moreover, Britain acquired at the same time needed American dollars for the building of its pipe lines through the sale of the Anglo-Iranian oil to the American companies.

American Aviation Interests

Oil is not the only American interest in the Middle East. On November 23, 1946, C. L. Sulzberger, in a dispatch from Dhahran to the New York *Times*, reported that the United States army "is now developing numerous airports in Dhahran on the Persian Gulf coast of Saudi Arabia into its most important air base in the area of the Middle East. The Dhahran airport will be the only base under direct United States army control between Tripoli, Libya, and Karachi, India."

Under the contract with the government of Saudi Arabia any type of civilian or military aircraft may be based at the field. Although it is planned to turn the base over to Saudi Arabia eventually, the contract has a clause guaranteeing future preferred rights to the United States. The American army has landing rights at Payne Field in Cairo, which was turned over to the Egyptian government by the United States.

According to James Landis, now the head of the Civil Aeronautical Authority and formerly United States Middle East economic representative, "No all-weather round-the-world route can be developed without the Middle East." Writing in the September, 1945, issue of *Fortune*, Mr. Landis further pointed out:

> But thus far our rights to fly and land, even to use what we have built, rest everywhere on the most tenuous of war-time easements. Moreover, to reach around the world, or to reach eastward to China and the Pacific by water, we require free and untrammeled access to the Mediterranean and the Red Sea . . . American airplanes fly almost every route in the Middle East, and either directly, or through lend-lease, millions of American dollars have been spent in costly air installations.

The relationship of commercial air transportation to war preparation hardly needs to be stressed.

Who Benefits from the Oil Concessions?

Although millions of dollars are being poured into the Middle East and billions taken out in profits, the economy of the region is still based on a feudal land system which keeps the populations in a state of destitution, ignorance, and misery. Two per cent of the population controls the wealth and the power of all the Arab states.

In *Egypt*, with its territory of 386,000 square miles and a population of over 18,000,000, some 80 per cent of the people live under conditions of slow starvation. The great majority are infected with parasitic diseases which stunt the mind and body. Nine-tenths of the population suffers from trachoma and other serious eye diseases. Three-quarters of the population is affected by bilharzia and ancylostomiasis. In 1940 less than one-half of one per cent of Egypt's landowners owned 37 per cent of the land.

In *Iraq* a population of 3,000,000 occupies an area of 175,000 square miles of great potential productivity. The majority of the population lives under the most primitive conditions, 80 per cent below the theoretical subsistence level. Ninety-five per cent is illiterate. Infant mortality up to the age of five is over 50 per cent. Despite the role of the oil industry in absorbing industrial labor, little more than one-half of one per cent of the population is employed in industry. The fellahin are insolvent, and archaic methods of land tenure are still in force.

In *Saudi Arabia* King Ibn Saud is an absolute monarch. In *Transjordan*, the Emir Abdullah also has unlimited power, except for the checks applied by the British. Neither country provides a decent standard of life for its people.

In all the Arab states modern industry has made only a feeble beginning, and there is the same range from the abject poverty of the masses to the great wealth of the very few as exists most spectacularly in Egypt. Hundreds of millions of dollars poured into Arab lands through oil royalties are the exclusive property of kings, sheiks, and effendis, without benefit to the Arab masses.

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AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

THE United States played a primary role in the events leading up to and following the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine. In fact, the Balfour Declaration was submitted to President Wilson for his approval in advance of its publication.

Since the time of Wilson other Presidents of the United States, successive sessions of Congress, and leaders in the national life of the country have indorsed the purpose of the Mandate. This indorsement reached its clearest expression in 1944, when both the Democratic and Republican parties incorporated into their platforms resolutions favoring the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

Resolutions of Both Parties

On June 27, 1944, the Republican National Convention adopted the following resolution:

> In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women, and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922 Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth. We condemn the failure of the President to insist that the mandatory of Palestine carry out the provision of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate while he pretends to support them.

On July 24, 1944, the Democratic National Convention adopted the following resolution:

> We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

Franklin D. Roosevelt on several occasions reaffirmed the interest of the government of the United States in the rebuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home. In the midst of the war, in September, 1941, he found time to send a message to the forty-fourth annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, in which he said: "It is hardly necessary for me to say that the threat to Palestine does not differ in essence from the threat to this country. . . . I look forward to the day when the great work which has been accomplished in Palestine may be carried forward in peace and harmony."

President Roosevelt's attitude was stated explicitly in October, 1944, to the forty-seventh annual convention of the Zionist Organization through Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York. In this communication the President said:

> Knowing that you are to attend the forty-seventh annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, I ask you to convey to the delegates assembled my cordial greetings. Please express my satisfaction that, in accord with the traditional American policy and in keeping with the spirit of the Four Freedoms, the Democratic Party at its July convention this year included the following plank in its platform: "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

One month before his death, on March 16, 1945, President Roosevelt reaffirmed this point of view, declaring: "I made my position on Zionism clear in October. That position I have not changed, and I shall continue to seek to bring about its earliest realization."

Attitude of United States Congress

The position of the Congress of the United States has been consistent since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. On September 20, 1922, in a joint resolution, signed by President Harding, Congress declared:

> Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

On December 3, 1924, a convention was signed by the United States and Great Britain in which the United States reaffirmed its indorsement of the Balfour Declaration, accepted the terms of the Mandate for Palestine as defined by the Council of the League of Nations on September 29, 1923, and asserted the rights of the United States with respect to decisions on Palestine as equal to those of the member nations of the League of Nations. Article 7 of this convention provides, "Nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be met in the terms of the Mandate as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States."

On July 2, 1945, a majority of the members of both houses of Congress addressed a communication to the President of the United States in which they urged American assistance in establishing Palestine "as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth" open "to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization."

On December 19, 1945, a concurrent resolution was adopted at the first session of the Seventy-ninth Congress of the United States, declaring:

> Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring): That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development,

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so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home, and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

That same day the President of the United States received a petition from the governors of forty states also urging American support for the establishment of a democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

President Truman's Position

In recognition of Jewish need and the traditional policy of the United States with respect to Palestine, President Truman, immediately after V-E Day in May, 1945, dispatched Earl G. Harrison, American member of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and dean of the Pennsylvania Law School, to Europe to make a report on the plight of the Jews. Some months later, Mr. Harrison reported to the President as follows:

> The main solution, in many ways the only real solution, of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of all non-repatriable Jews in Germany and Austria who wish it to Palestine. In order to be effective, this plan must not be long delayed. The urgency of the situation should be recognized. It is inhuman to ask people to continue to live for any length of time under their present conditions. The evacuation of the Jews of Germany and Austria to Palestine will solve the problem of the individuals involved and will also remove a problem for the military authorities who have to deal with it. The army's ability to move millions of people quickly and efficiently has been amply demonstrated. The evacuation of a relatively small number of Jews from Germany and Austria will present no great problem to the military.

On the basis of the Harrison report President Truman, on August 31, 1945, sent a communication to Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, asking him to make available 100,000 Palestine immigration certificates for Jews in the displaced-persons camps. After months of delay the British countered with the suggestion that a Committee of Inquiry be appointed by the United States and British governments. The United States agreed. On November 13, 1945, President Truman announced the establishment of this committee.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE AND WHAT FOLLOWED

ON JANUARY 4, 1946, the committee, consisting of six members representing the United States and six members representing Great Britain, met in Washington and inaugurated a series of public hearings which were later extended to London, the Continent, and Palestine.

Its functions were described as follows:

1. To examine political, economic, and social conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and settlement therein and the well-being of the peoples now living therein.
2. To examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, and the practical measures taken or contemplated to be taken in those countries to enable them to live free from discrimination and oppression and to make estimates of those who wish or will be impelled by their conditions to migrate to Palestine or other countries outside Europe.
3. To hear the views of competent witnesses and to consult representative Arabs and Jews on the problems of Palestine as such problems are affected by conditions subject to examination under paragraphs one and two above, and by other relevant facts and circumstances, and to make recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the government of the United States for ad interim handling of these problems and their permanent solution.

Recommendations of the Committe

On April 20, 1946, the Anglo-American Committee issued from Lausanne, Switzerland, a report on its findings. Its proposals, based on the findings, follow:

Refugee Immigration Into Palestine

We recommend that 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jews who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution; that these certificates be awarded as far as possible in 1946 and that actual immigration be pushed forward as rapidly as conditions will permit.

Land Policy

We recommend that the Land Transfers Regulations of 1940 be rescinded and replaced by regulations based on a policy of freedom in the sale, lease, or use of land, irrespective of race, community, or creed, and providing adequate protection for the interests of small owners and tenant cultivators; we further recommend that steps be taken to render nugatory and to prohibit provisions in conveyances, leases, and agreements relating to land which stipulate that only members of one race, community, or creed may be employed on or about or in connection therewith.

No Arab, No Jewish State

In order to dispose, once and for all, of the exclusive claim of Jews and Arabs to Palestine, we regard it as essential that a clear statement of the following principles should be made:

(1) That Jew shall not dominate Arab and Arab shall not dominate Jew in Palestine; (2) that Palestine shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state; (3) that the form of government ultimately to be established shall, under international guaranties, fully protect and preserve the interests in the Holy Land of Christendom and of the Moslem and Jewish faiths.

Thus Palestine must ultimately become a state which

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guards the rights and interests of Moslems, Jews, and Christians alike, and accords to the inhabitants as a whole the fullest measure of self-government consistent with the three paramount principles set forth above. . . .

Mandate and United Nations Trusteeship

We have reached the conclusion that the hostility between Jews and Arabs, and, in particular, the determination of each to achieve domination, if necessary by violence, make it almost certain that now and for some time to come any attempt to establish either as independent Palestinian states would result in civil strife such as might threaten the peace of the world.

We therefore recommend that until this hostility disappears the government of Palestine be continued as at present under mandate pending the execution of a trusteeship agreement under the United Nations.

Arab Needs

Looking toward a form of ultimate self-government consistent with the three principles laid down in Recommendation No. 3, we recommend that the mandatory or trustee should proclaim the principle that Arab economic, educational, and political advancement in Palestine is of equal importance with that of the Jews and should at once prepare measures designed to bridge the gap which now exists and raise the Arab standard of living to that of the Jews, and so bring the two peoples to a full appreciation of their common interest and common destiny in the land where both belong.

Future Immigration Policy

We recommend that pending the early reference to the United Nations and the execution of a trusteeship agreement the mandatory should administer Palestine according to the Mandate, which declares with regard to immigration that "the administration of Palestine, while insuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions.

The well-being of all the people of Palestine, be they Jews, Arabs, or neither, must be the governing consideration. We reject the view that there shall be no further Jewish immigration into Palestine without Arab acquiescence a view which would result in the Arab dominating the Jew. We also reject the insistent Jewish demand that forced Jewish immigration must proceed apace in order to produce as quickly as possible a Jewish majority and a Jewish state. The well-being of the Jews must not be subordinated to that of the Arabs, nor that of the Arabs to the Jews. The well-being of both, the economic situation of Palestine as a whole, the degree of execution of plans for further development, all have to be carefully considered in deciding the number of immigrants for any particular period.

During the London hearings of the Anglo-American Committee a formal luncheon was tendered the members by Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin. Bartley C. Crum reports that Bevin on this occasion definitely assured the committee he would accept its recommendations if they were unanimous.

On the strength of this promise the committee brought out a unanimous report, although two members, Richard Crossman and Bartley C. Crum, favored partition, while Frank W. Buxton favored the establishment of a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine.

Truman Accepts; Attlee Rejects

When the Anglo-American Committee report was issued, President Truman expressed his support of the recommendations with respect to immigration, land restrictions, and the canceling of the White Paper. He reserved judgment on the remainder of the recommendations.

The British government did not accept the provisions of the report. Instead, Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons on May 1, 1946, stated that Great Britain could not undertake to carry out the recommendations single-handed and wanted to know to what extent the United States would "be prepared to share the resulting military and financial responsibilities." He declined to implement that portion of the report calling for the early admission of 100,000 refugee Jews and demanded the disarmament of the Haganah, as well as the Arabs, as a condition precedent to a discussion of the possibility of putting the recommendations into effect.

In a communication to President Truman the British government went beyond the Attlee statement and announced that it would be willing to consider admitting the Jews only if illegal Jewish armies were disbanded before the Jews were permitted to move, and asked whether the United States would share responsibility in disarming these forces.

Committee of Experts Set Up

One June 11, 1946, President Truman created a special Cabinet committee to assist him in formulating and implementing "such policy with regard to Palestine and related problems as may be adopted by this government."

Henry F. Grady of San Francisco was named as an alternate for Secretary Byrnes and left for London with an advisory staff to discuss a plan for Palestine with a similar committee appointed by the British government. This new joint body issued what became known as the Morrison-Grady Plan, on July 10, 1946.

While the committee was meeting, President Truman announced that the United States was ready to assume responsibility for transporting 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

Terms of Morrison-Grady Plan

Under the Morrison-Grady Plan four administrative areas were to have been set up. First, a Jewish province consisting of the most highly developed industrial and agricultural Jewish settlements, including Tel-Aviv and other sections already populated by Jews; second, a Jerusalem district consisting of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and surrounding territories, to be administered by the central British government; third, the Negev or south country, a largely uninhabited triangle with its apex on the Gulf of Aqaba and bounded by the Sinai desert and Transjordan, to be administered in the immediate future by the British authorities; and, fourth, a province to be known as the Arab province, which would consist of the rest of Palestine.

The Negev area, it was revealed, was to become a base for British military activity in the Middle East.

Under the scheme, two Arab and Jewish provincial governments were to be set up and to include local elected legislatures. The central government—namely, Britain—would

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be in charge of the administration of law and security, foreign affairs, customs, and taxation. Both Jews and Arabs would be permitted to admit or exclude as many settlers to their areas as they wished within the absorptive capacity of each province, subject, however, to the approval of the High Commissioner. The High Commissioner, moreover, could veto any legislation in the provincial legislatures. A principal point in the Morrison-Grady Plan was the provision that the Negev, comprising 45 per cent of Palestine, and a likely source of oil, was to become a British reservation, ultimately to be added to either a Jewish or an Arab province. But whatever the disposition of the Negev, the oil rights were to be retained by Britain in perpetuity. If this scheme was accepted, Herbert Morrison said, 100,000 Jews would be admitted into the country in twelve months.

United States Rejects Plan

The United States, under the plan, was called upon to carry out the transportation of refugees, supply two months' food for them, and, in addition, assume financial responsibility for improving the living standards of the Arabs. The United States was expected to assume short-term financial commitments, including the financing of all health services and an educational system for the Arabs comparable to that of the Jews, and the development of light industries and other economic improvements. In addition, the United States was to pay $300,000,000 to the Arab states, of which $250,000,000, in the words of Bartley Crum, could be termed "an outright bribe to the Arab leaders in Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, King Abdullah, and all the rest, that they should permit Great Britain to permit some Jews to enter what will become a small elongated ghetto."

This scheme was rejected by the United States and by both the Jews and the Arabs.

Judge Hutcheson, chairman of the American section of the Anglo-American Committee, called the plan a "complete sell-out—a very pretty, even grandiose sell-out, but a sell-out nevertheless."

Further American Proposals

On October 4, 1946, the President again asked Prime Minister Attlee for the immediate admission of considerable numbers of Jewish displaced persons into Palestine. Attlee refused. This refusal was countered with another message from the President reiterating his request. This plea was also refused.

President Truman pointed out that among the members of the major political parties, both in Congress and throughout the country, opposition had developed to the Morrison-Grady Plan and for that reason he "could not give support to this plan." He continued:

> The British government presented to the conference the so-called Morrison Plan for provincial autonomy and stated that the conference was open to other proposals. Meanwhile, the Jewish Agency proposed a solution of the Palestine problem by means of the creation of a viable Jewish state in control of its own immigration and economic policies in an adequate area of Palestine instead of in the whole of Palestine. It proposed further the immediate issuance of certificates for 100,000 Jewish immigrants. This proposal received widespread attention in the United States, both in the press and in public forums. From the discussion which has ensued it is my belief that a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States. I cannot believe that the gap between the proposals which have been put forward is too great to be bridged by men of reason and good-will. To such a solution our government could give its support. . . .

The President further urged that immigration into Palestine be started promptly and again promised American assistance. He agreed, if this policy was carried out, to recommend to Congress measures liberalizing this country's immigration laws and providing economic help in the development of Palestine.

Truman to Ibn Saud

On October 15, 1946, King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, in a letter to President Truman, demanded the stoppage of Jewish immigration, which he chose to call "Zionist aggression."

In reply to this letter, on October 28, President Truman refuted the points raised by Ibn Saud and affirmed American responsibility for seeing to it that the Jewish National Home was established in Palestine. He pointed out that "the Jewish National Home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

Britain's Last Attempt

Subsequent conversations held by Great Britain with Arab and Jewish groups failed to achieve anything, and it was decided by the British government to hold another conference with Arabs and Jews in January, 1947, in London. When the time came, the conference was held with the Arab leaders alone. The representatives of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency refused to attend in view of the lack of advance assurances that the partition proposal favored by them as a possible compromise solution would be fully considered by the British. Informal discussions with the Zionist leaders, however, went on during the entire period of the conference.

The outcome of the conference was a British plan based on a scaled-down version of the Morrison-Grady Plan: it was acceptable to neither party concerned.

On February 26, 1947, the British government made its first advance to the United Nations, requesting an extraordinary session of the Assembly on the Palestine question. By consent of the member nations that session was called for April 28.

British Pressure on Inquiry Committee

That Britain, despite its responsibility for the creation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, was opposed to a settlement favorable to the Jews was made evident to American members of the committee from the very start, and Bartley Crum, in his book, cites numerous instances of this attitude.

Harold Beeley, Near East expert of the British Foreign

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Office attached to the committee, now attached to the British delegation at the U. N., told Mr. Crum that the purpose was to reach a solution which would establish an Arab *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviet Union.

One British member described Zionism as Jewish fascism. Another characterized it as communism in disguise. Harold Beeley told Crum "that Britain's honor was at stake. The 1939 White Paper pledged independence to the Arabs in Palestine and we must carry out the pledge."

In London witnesses tried to deny that the pledges of the Labor Party on Palestine were intended to be carried out. General Sir Edward Spears, who in 1942, 1943, and 1944 had been Britain's Minister to Syria and Lebanon, was called as a witness as a so-called expert on Middle Eastern affairs. Spears, who had been recalled after the French denounced him for intriguing behind the scenes, charged the Zionists "were spiritually Nazis and *agents provocateurs*, and that during World War II Britain had to keep military forces in the Middle East in order to guard against Jewish revolt against Britain."

When Mr. Buxton, an American member of the Anglo-American Committee, asked Spears if he knew the relative enlistments in the last war of Arabs and Jews of Palestine and said, "My understanding was that per capita enlistments among the Jews in Palestine were a great deal heavier than the enlistments among the Arabs," General Spears toyed with his spectacles and said he "had not seen the figures."

In Palestine Sir John Shaw, chief secretary of the Palestine government, told Crum that only if the Jewish Agency were liquidated and the Haganah disarmed would he be ready to recommend the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine over a period of three to four years. Crum also revealed that a number of General D'Arcy's aids, as part of their evidence, had offered the committee photographs of "extreme military importance," allegedly showing rifles and ammunition discovered during a raid on a new Jewish collective in Syria. Crum took up one of them and looked at the back. "It was a commercial postcard, the type on sale in any Jerusalem shop," he reports.

Richard Crossman, in his book, states that the British in Palestine "are anti-Jewish and are either pro-Arab or strictly impartial in detesting both."

State Department Prejudice

If the British were guilty of prejudice, officials of the United States State Department were responsible for decisions which contradicted the publicly announced policy of the American government with respect to Palestine, as well as the viewpoint of Truman, according to Bartley Crum.

Loy Henderson, chief of the Near East Division of the State Department, in briefing Mr. Crum echoed the sentiments of Harold Beeley, his opposite number in the British Foreign Office. He said to Mr. Crum, "There is one fact facing both the United States and Great Britain, and that is the Soviet Union. It would be wise to bear that in mind when you consider the Palestine problem."

The practical effect of this attitude on the part of the State Department was revealed in the confidential file supplied by the Near East Division of the State Department for the use of the American members of the committee.

Seventeen items in the file disclosed, according to Crum, that since April 15, 1938, "each time a promise was made to American Jewry regarding Palestine, the State Department promptly sent a message to Arab rulers discounting it and reassuring them in effect that regardless of what was promised publicly to the Jews, nothing would be done to change the situation in Palestine." According to Crum, not even President Truman knew of the existence of this file.

IMMIGRATION AND REPRESSION

THE refusal of the British to admit more than a thin trickle of the displaced Jews of Europe to Palestine has mobilized the entire Jewish community in opposition to this policy. Boatload after boatload of Jewish immigrants in past months has made its way to Palestine, only to be forcibly removed and sent to the Island of Cyprus. Each transfer has been accompanied by resistance, first on the part of the immigrants themselves, and, second on that of the Jewish community.

Regarding restrictions of the White Paper as illegal, the Jews of Palestine decline to regard any Jewish immigration as illegal.

The "illegal" immigration is carried out under the direction of the Haganah, the Jewish defense organization.

In August, 1945, the last of the 75,000 immigrant visas available under the 1939 White Paper's five-year plan were assigned. Under the pressure of the United States government the British have agreed to allow 1,500 immigrants to enter the country each month. These visas are assigned to the so-called illegal immigrants in Cyprus, which now has a refugee colony of more than 12,000.

The Jews as a Nation

All observers in Palestine report that the Jews will refuse a solution which fails to satisfy their demands for the admission of refugees and for the right to conduct their own affairs. In discussing their present attitude toward Palestine, Richard Crossman says:

> History, reaching its climax in the Nazi persecutions, had made these few survivors of the Polish, Hungarian, and Rumanian Jewish communities into the members of a Jewish nation. . . . Nothing could stop this movement to Palestine, although it could be halted for a period. . . . The National Home was not a synthetic colony composed of Jews of fifteen different nationalities but a new Palestinian community . . . the nucleus of a brand-new Western state planked down on the seaboard of the Arab world. The fact that the home of the Jews was also the home of the Arabs complicated the problem, but it was no use, for that reason, trying to believe that the Jewish nation should be given a home elsewhere. Nations cannot be constructed in this way, and Jewish nationalism would never be content until a Jewish commonwealth had been established in the Eretz Israel. . . . I had to admit that the

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> Jews had set going revolutionary forces in the Middle East which in the long run would benefit the Arabs. . . . But what should *not* be done was to attempt to hold an even balance between the two communities and thereby to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of both.

In the opinion of Crossman and others the Jews will fight to the finish to achieve their goal. Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency, told Crossman in Palestine:

> In deciding our destiny don't make the mistake of thinking of us as Jews like the Jews you have in London. Imagine that we are Englishmen fighting for our national existence, and calculate that we shall behave as you would behave if you were in our situation. . . .

Palestine a Police State

A small element of the Jewish community is organized into two terrorist groups, one known as the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the other as the Stern Gang, which have organized a series of reprisals against the British military administration, including bombings and assaults on British administrative officers and other personnel.

In retaliation the British administration has introduced repressive measures which have turned Palestine into a police state. It has made many attempts to induce the Jewish Agency for Palestine to act as informer and turn over the terrorists. While disclaiming any identification with the terror, and in fact strongly opposing it, the Jewish Agency has refused to accept this function and has demanded instead that the British government end the terror by admitting immigrants and restoring civil rights to the people.

Today, Palestine under Britain is, according to the Anglo-American Committee, a semi-military or police state. The expenditures on so-called law and order in 1944-45 amounted to $18,400,000, as against an expenditure of $2,200,000 for health and $2,800,000 for education.

Censorship is absolute. Every item of Palestine news and every editorial comment must be submitted, and there is no appeal from the decision of the government. Civil liberties are non-existent. Anyone can be arrested for being a member of a group any other member of which has done something wrong.

The Anglo-American Committee, in describing the situation in the country said:

> The regulations confer on the authorities wide powers of arrest and search without warrant. Searches may be made in the absence of the owner or occupier, provided the mukhtar of the area or two responsible citizens are present. Military courts possess considerable jurisdiction and can impose the death sentence. The principle of group responsibility has been extended, and the authorities are empowered to impose collective fines as punitive measures. The regulations provide also for forfeiture of property by any person who, in the considered opinion of the High Commissioner, has committed or abetted the commission of certain specified offenses.
>
> In Palestine there is a police-and-prisons establishment of over 15,000 persons, exclusive of supernumerary police. These police are habitually armed and are conspicuous everywhere.

Defense Regulations or Martial Law?

On September 27, 1945, forty new regulations on security were introduced by the Palestine government, necessitated, it stated, "by conditions in Palestine." The regulations were based on special war-time practices.

Four months later, on January 28, 1946, even more drastic regulations were issued, which had the virtual effect of martial law. Military courts were established with single officers appointed by the general officer in command in whom were vested practically unlimited powers to impose punishments.

Made punishable by death were: discharge or carrying of firearms or explosives; damaging or obstructing property; interfering with property, vehicles, communications, plant installations, or supply services of the government and the armed forces.

Punishable, but by less drastic means, were: aiding or abetting offenders or attempted offenders; wearing clothes resembling uniforms; wearing a disguise while at a place where such disguise would be prejudicial to the public safety or defense; unlawful drilling of any kind and possessing of wireless transmitting apparatus or parts of apparatus without the authority of the military commander.

The regulations gave the authority to issue detention orders to officers or persons named by the military commander. The High Commissioner was empowered to deport any person from the country for an indefinite period, and to refuse entry to any person as long as the regulations were in force.

Most stringent was the provision which made it necessary for the suspect to prove his innocence, instead of placing the responsibility on the authorities to prove his guilt.

Under these regulations the British Palestine administration arrested the highest leaders of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency, although admitting that they had no connection with terror, and for weeks kept them in detention camps without trial. British troops and police carried out searches in Jewish settlements, destroyed property, arrested innocent men and women.

A new phase was inaugurated on March 2, 1947, when statutory martial law was imposed on Tel-Aviv, Ramat Gan, Petah Tikvah, Bnei Brak, and the Mea Shearim district of Jerusalem. This action was in retaliation for the bombing of the officers' club in Jerusalem and, as the government put it, because of "lack of cooperation against bloodshed and terrorism" on the part of the Jewish institutions.

Statutory martial law remained in effect for fifteen days until March 17, 1947, and Jewish community losses are estimated to have totaled some $7,000,000.

On April 9, 1947, statutory martial law underwent a further transformation, and it was announced that "what have been called statutory martial-law areas will in the future be known as 'controlled' areas." Under this new decree, issued as an amendment to the defense emergency regulations, the High Commissioner gave himself the power to declare any part of the country a "controlled area" and to close all public offices, civil courts, banks, and communication services in such areas. An explanatory note warned that "these conditions are much more restrictive than under martial law."

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SOME PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

VARIOUS proposals have been made for a solution of the Palestine problem. The Arabs demand an independent Palestine immediately; this would of course mean an Arab-controlled state since the Jews are in a minority. The British have proposed a form of federalization or cantonization under the ultimate authority of the British crown. Various groups, Jewish and non-Jewish, favor an independent bi-national state in which power would be divided equally between Jews and Arabs. Other groups and individuals advocate partition on a basis which would create in Palestine what has come to be called "a viable Jewish state." This last scheme, which has won some backing among moderate Zionists, involves a serious modification of the traditional Zionist aim—namely, the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in the whole area of Palestine.

Let us examine briefly these various proposals:

The Bi-national State

The idea of a bi-national state in Palestine in which Jews and Arabs shall have equal rights—either on the basis of numerical equality in the population or through equal representation without regard to population figures—has a strong democratic appeal. It was suggested, rather vaguely, as a possible solution by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

It is not one, however, which will satisfy the need of the Jews to migrate to Palestine—particularly in view of the consistent opposition of the Arabs to the admission of *any* Jews —or to develop their own institutions there. Nor will it satisfy the ambitions of the Arabs for sovereign control in a country of their own. Moreover, if the scheme were actually put into effect, conflict would inevitably develop between two peoples whose cultural and industrial development is on such contrasting levels and whose approach to social and political problems is so different.

Cantonization

Twice since the end of the war the British government has sponsored a scheme for the division of Palestine into Jewish and Arab cantons, or districts, under a central government which would be controlled by Britain. Such a plan was worked out at the London Conference of the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee and made public in July, 1946.

Nine years earlier, in 1937, the Royal Commission had also examined the idea of cantonization and rejected it on the ground that "cantonal autonomy would not satisfy for a moment the demands of Arab nationalism; it would not raise the status of Palestine Arabs to the level of that enjoyed or soon to be enjoyed by Arabs in neighboring countries; nor would it give the Jews the full freedom they desire to build up their own national home in their own way at their own pace, nor offer them the prospect of realizing on a small territorial scale all that Zionism means. Cantonization presents most, if not all, of the difficulties presented by partition without partition's one supreme advantage—the advantage it offers of eventual peace."

Despite the rejection of this plan Great Britain renewed its proposal for cantonization on February 10, 1947. This time Mr. Bevin advocated even more restricted Jewish immigration. The end effect of the proposal was to prepare Palestine for eventual independence under circumstances which would insure a permanent Arab majority.

Partition as a Solution

The proposal that Palestine should be divided into two states was first made by the Royal Commission in 1937. Thereafter the British government received authority from the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations to explore the practical application of the principle of partition. In December, 1937, it appointed a committee to investigate partition and draw up a practical scheme. This committee unanimously advised against the recommendations of the Royal Commission and proposed instead two other plans which would have reduced the Jewish state to much smaller dimensions than were suggested in the Peel report. These proposals were bitterly opposed by all Zionists.

As a result the British government in November, 1938, "reached the conclusion that this further examination has shown that the political, administrative, and financial difficulties involved in the proposal to create independent Jewish and Arab states inside Palestine are so great that this solution of the problem is impracticable."

Seemingly the experience of World War II and the need to provide a refuge for European Jewry brought the British government, before the war's end, to the belief that partition might provide the best solution after all. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, then president of the Jewish Agency, in his testimony before the Anglo-American Committee said: "I had a promise from Mr. Churchill that if he were returned to office in the summer of 1945, he would immediately go forward with a generous partition plan."

Leopold S. Amery, former British Secretary of State for India and former Colonial Secretary, told the committee on January 30, 1946, that "the division of Palestine into areas for both Jews and Arabs is the only solution. Both sides have aspirations for self-government and both feel fit for it."

Even today, however, there is little enthusiasm in Jewish circles for a partitioned state. It represents a sacrifice which Zionist feeling naturally resists. This feeling was reflected in the resolution of the Basel Zionist Congress in December, 1946, which asked for full implementation of the terms of the Mandate encompassing the whole of Palestine.

Attitude of the Zionists Toward Partition

But even if the Zionist movement is officially opposed to partition, there is reason to believe that the promise of a Jewish state in an area adequate to allow for the admission to it of the remnants of European Jewry would be acceptable to most Jewish leaders.

Moshe Shertok, political secretary of the Jewish Agency, stated in 1946 that the Agency would accept partition under

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certain conditions. Even Ben-Gurion, thought to be more extreme in his views, told Crossman a year ago that a firm decision by the British and a speedy execution of partition could be accepted.

Would the Jews Be Safe in an Arab State?

The Arab states are demanding an independent state in Palestine immediately. In such a state the Jewish population, progressive and technically advanced, would be at the mercy of a backward and antagonistic Arab majority led by the arch enemy, the Mufti. Moreover, in decisions involving any disputes with the Jews, Palestine Arabs would have the backing of the other Arab states.

To be sure, in all their demands for an Arab state in Palestine the Arab states, singly and collectively, have emphasized that all sections of the population would be on a level of legal equality. M. Fadhel Jamali, director-general of Foreign Affairs of the Iraq government, in his testimony before the Anglo-American Committee, underscored this view and offered the status of the Jews in Iraq as an example of how two elements in a population can live in peace and harmony. This is the same official who in 1937 visited Germany, where according to a British Defense Security report of April 11, 1945, "he was accorded an official welcome and was lavishly entertained."

An examination of the record, however, clearly indicates that there is nothing to justify confidence in the attitude of the Arab states toward any minority in their population. The experience of the Kurds, Christian Lebanese, Copts, Armenians, and Jews offers striking refutation of such assurances.

In 1937 the Royal Commission emphasized, "We cannot, in the present state of affairs, abandon them [the Jews of Palestine] to the good intentions of the Arab government." Tension is even greater today than in 1937.

In recent years pogroms have taken place in Bagdad, Tripoli, and Cairo.

In *Syria,* as recently as March 24, 1947, the government announced that the death penalty would be imposed on Jews of Syria, numbering 13,000, unless they publicly denounced Zionism and surrendered all Jewish refugees attempting to reach Palestine. In the last years Jews have been fleeing from Syria to India, Egypt, the United States, and Palestine. The Jewish population today is half of that of 1937.

The situation of the *Lebanese* Jewish community is like that of the Syrian, although the existence of a small Christian majority serves for the time being as a safeguard.

Iraq celebrated its independence in 1932 by persecuting and slaughtering its minority groups, including Assyrians, Kurds, and Jews. In 1935 Jews were discharged from all public posts under pretense that "unsuitables" were being eliminated. But the largest category of so-called unsuitables was the Jews. Subsidies have been withdrawn from Jewish schools; the teaching of Hebrew is forbidden.

In 1941 a pogrom took place in Bagdad in which the Mufti and his followers played an important part. An investigating committee reported that 110 Jews were killed, including 28 women; 586 stores were looted; 911 houses, in which 12,311 persons lived, were destroyed. In reality, the number of Jews killed exceeded 400.

In *Egypt* pogroms have taken place in Cairo and Alexandria. These spread from Egypt to Tripolitania, where three days later 170 Jews were massacred. Jews are discriminated against in every possible way, politically and financially.

In *Yemen,* one of the most backward of the Middle Eastern countries, the Jews, numbering some 45,000, are homeless wanderers in the desert. They are exposed to robbery and torture, burdened with all kinds of special taxes, and are on the verge of death by starvation.

Immigration Impossible in an Arab State

If Palestine were an Arab state, the primary need of European Jewry—immigration—could not be met. Apart from the restrictions proposed by the Arabs in the plans under consideration, their opposition to immigration has been consistent and open. Dr. Hitti, testifying before the Anglo-American Committee in Washington in behalf of the Institute for Arab Affairs, when asked if the Arabs would agree to Jewish immigration if the goal of a Jewish state were eliminated, replied, "Frankly, no. Jewish immigration seems to us an attenuated form of conquest."

Arab Rights in a Jewish Commonwealth

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, in its testimony before the Anglo-American Committee, set forth its views as to the rights of all citizens in a Jewish state, as follows:

> A self-governing state is contemplated in which all citizens, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights, and all communities shall control their internal affairs. The state will not be Jewish in the sense that the Jews in it will have more rights than the non-Jews, or that its Jewish community will be superior in status to other communities, or that other religions will have an inferior status to the Jewish religion. In what sense will it then be a Jewish state? It will be Jewish because Jews will have a right of entry to it not limited by any political consideration; because in it Jews will be free to create a society according to their own way of life; because, in addition to its ordinary function of insuring the welfare of all its inhabitants, the state will have the special function of serving as the Jewish National Home and providing refuge for oppressed Jews; because by its existence it will normalize the status of the Jewish people.

The attitude of the Jews toward the Arabs in areas of Palestine where Jewish institutions are established supports the Agency's claim that the rights of the Arabs would be fully respected in a Jewish state. The facilities of Jewish hospitals, social-welfare organizations, the Hebrew University, agencies for agricultural information and advice, and other similar institutions are uniformly made available to both communities on equal terms.

Possibilities of Arab-Jewish Cooperation

That Jews and Arabs can live together in peace is attested to by certain Arabs themselves. An Arab leader with considerable influence whom Bartley Crum identifies as Yussefd told him: "If we were sure that Britain and America wished the Jews and Arabs to get together, we would." Mayor Nashashibi of Jerusalem told Bartley Crum that he favored partition for the following reasons: first, the

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Jews could have an independent democratic state with a Jewish majority; second the Arabs could have a large Arab state comprising Transjordan and the Arab-populated part of Palestine, all under King Abdullah of Transjordan; third, the British would be eliminated.

Other Arab leaders expressed their belief that the Arab politicians were making a great mistake in not recognizing that the Palestinian Arabs and the Palestinian Jews share a common destiny. "If the Arab leadership were convinced that the Jews were not part of a creeping invasion engineered by England to destroy their position, the Jews and Arabs even at the top would be able to reconcile their differences." Bartley Crum reports the opinion of the Nashashibi family, representing the moderate Arab groups in Palestine.

> "It was the old story of appeasement," Nashashibi told me, "and like all appeasement, it proved a major error. As soon as Haj Amin came to power, he was more intransigent than ever. He purged the Arab leadership of every Arab who threatened his domination, and I do not exaggerate when I say the Mufti's gangs simply eliminated by murder hundreds of his political opponents." The Mufti, he added, was publicly charged with "direct responsibility" for the murder of twenty-eight men, all distinguished Palestine Arab leaders, in an affidavit entitled "Voice from the Arab Tombs of Palestine," published in Cairo on January 2, 1939, by a Sheik Ali Yassin, who had escaped to Egypt from Palestine. "The Mufti is a great problem for us, as you can see," he added.

Militating against Arab-Jewish understanding are the Arab kings and effendis on the one hand and British imperialism on the other. The rich Arabs are opposed to Zionism on the ground that Jewish social and technical innovations mean lifting the masses from their ignorance and serfdom.

CAN A JEWISH STATE BE ESTABLISHED?

ALL evidence points to the certainty that the establishment of independent Jewish and Arab states is feasible.

Bartley Crum reports his "feeling" that Sir Allan Cunningham, High Commissioner for Palestine, favors partition, "not partition along lines of the Peel report, but with a far more generous territorial allowance to the new state of Judea." Sir Allan told members of the Anglo-American Committee, "Whatever you do, I would suggest that you make a bold and forthright recommendation and then see to it that it is carried out with boldness and determination."

General J. C. D'Arcy, general officer commanding Palestine, told the Anglo-American Committee that "purely from the military point of view he could enforce a pro-Jewish solution without much difficulty. In enforcing such a solution the Haganah can be most helpful." Whereas, according to D'Arcy, in case of a pro-Arab solution he would have the Haganah to contend with.

Asked what would happen were Britain to withdraw her troops from Palestine, General D'Arcy said, according to Crum: "The Haganah would take over all of Palestine tomorrow and . . . hold it against the entire Arab world."

When one of the British members of the Anglo-American Committee asked him: "Are you implying, sir, that it is impossible for His Majesty's Government to disarm the Haganah?" General D'Arcy replied: "You cannot disarm a whole people. I rather think the world will not stand for another mass murder of Jews."

Crossman reports that the Arab experts in Cairo told him that the Haganah was the most powerful military force in the Middle East apart from the British army. In Crossman's view a pro-Arab policy would entail the heaviest military commitment since it would be resisted not only by the Irgun but by the whole Haganah, backed by nearly all the Jews.

Can the Arabs Stage a Revolt?

For the past twenty-five years the Arabs have held over the heads of the British mandatory and world public opinion the threat of an Arab revolt in the event of decisions favorable to the Jews. This threat has been reiterated by the Arab League and has been given point in the announcements in Cairo and Jerusalem that Palestine Arabs are forming semi-military youth organizations in every town and village.

Despite this fact seasoned observers do not believe that the Arabs will revolt or have the strength to maintain a revolt. As far back as 1937 the Royal Commission dismissed the idea of serious trouble on the part of the Arabs: "We do not suggest that it would be formidable. It would be ludicrous to suppose that it is beyond the resources of Your Majesty's Government to deal with a rebellion on so small a scale and so ill-equipped for modern warfare."

More recent observers on the spot acquiesce in that opinion. Mr. Crossman says in his book: "I do not believe the admission of 100,000 Jews would cause any Arab disturbance which could not be comfortably dealt with by the huge British army on the spot. . . ."

American correspondents who have visited Palestine and the Near East share and amplify that view. Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*, returned from a visit to Palestine and the Middle East last June and said that no Arab state or combination of states could start a war in Palestine without British connivance.

> The Arab leaders know this well; they may bark loudly, but they have very few teeth to bite with. Egypt will never endanger its present negotiations with Britain by seriously involving itself in Palestine. King Farouk has huge ambitions, encompassing the whole Arab world. But his present need is to win a diplomatic triumph through the withdrawal, on favorable terms, of British forces from Egypt.
>
> Transjordan's newly crowned king, Abdullah, is in Britain's pocket—not only because the whole independence farce was staged and run off by the British; not only because the treaty with Britain secures that power's predominant interest; but above all because Transjordan's army is officered by Britishers and is in fact an integral part of Britain's armed forces in the Middle East. To imagine an incursion from Transjordan into Palestine without Britain's consent is a little difficult.

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In Iraq British control is only a little less overt. Since the overthrow of Rashid Ali in 1941, the Iraqi government and army have operated under strict British supervision.

There remain Syria and Lebanon. Ostensibly independent since the French were evicted, these countries might possibly cause trouble across the border. Syria is now militantly pan-Arab and has taken the lead in boycotting Jewish goods from Palestine. Lebanon, torn between Arab propaganda and the fears of the Christian population, is more inhibited. But both are deeply beholden to the British. The liquidation of French control was accomplished by a series of maneuvers which have never been fully exposed. In the process, local politicians, bought and paid for, were established in power by their new overlord. The financial by-products of office are great in the Levant and it will be some time, I imagine, before these officials will think it discreet to kick over the traces. If they did, their ability to make trouble in Palestine would be severely restricted by the almost complete collapse of the Levantine armies since the French moved out.

Richard Mowrer, foreign correspondent of the New York *Post,* in a dispatch to his paper on April 30, 1946, also expressed the belief that if the Arabs revolt the British will be to blame.

Ibn Saud Will Not Cancel Oil Concessions

The fear that a settlement in Palestine favorable to the Jews will also jeopardize foreign oil interests seems to be without foundation in so far as Saudi Arabia is concerned.

On March 1, 1947, Clifton Daniel, in a dispatch to the New York *Times* from Cairo, said:

> Ibn Saud is notably content with his arrangement with the American companies and does not care to have any other power put its foot in his door. Ibn Saud also accepts the distinction between the companies and the American government. He does not penalize the Arabian-American Oil Company for the American policy in Palestine, which he abhors.

This was a repetition of a statement made by Ibn Saud on November 28, 1946, when he told a representative of the Arabian-American Oil Company that "rumors that he might withdraw the oil concessions because of American support of the Zionists were 'hot wind.' "

On December 4, 1946, in response to a threat by Jamal Husseini that the oil concessions would be jeopardized, King Ibn Saud said that "he has never even considered selling or even voiding the oil concessions that are being developed in his country by the United States companies."

POSSIBILITIES OF EXPANSION

WOULD a divided Palestine be equal to supplying the needs of present-day European Jewish life? The answer of experts is in the affirmative.

Belgium, with an area of only 11,780 square miles, supports a population of 8,159,185. Holland, with an area of 13,202 square miles, supports a population of 8,061,571. In the United States, Massachusetts, with an area of 8,266 square miles, supports a population of 4,313,000; New Jersey, with an area of 8,224 square miles, 4,193,000. "There can be little doubt," said the Anglo-American Committee, "that, given some central direction, more cooperative effort, and a peaceful political administration, Palestine can be made to provide further opportunities for prospective settlement, concurrently with an improvement in the living standards of its present population."

Nathan, Gass, and Creamer, in "Palestine: Problem and Promise," estimate that "between 615,000 and 1,125,000 Jews could be admitted to Palestine within the next ten years, provided that a basic political program is enacted, backed up by the moral and material weight of the United Nations. Under such a political program," they say, "Palestine can become a source of self-sustaining livelihood to many more Jews and an outpost of Western culture for the whole of the Middle East without being an outpost of Western imperialism."

4,000,000 More Immigrants

Dr. Lowdermilk, assistant chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States, in his "Land of Promise," goes even farther. He proposes the establishment of a Jordan Valley Authority for Palestine and Transjordan. The full utilization of the Jordan Valley depression and adjoining drainage areas for reclamation and power would, in his judgment, "provide farms, industry, and security for at least 4,000,000 Jewish refugees from Europe, in addition to the 1,800,000 Arabs and Jews already in Palestine and Transjordan." Pointing out that Palestine has two primary needs, water and power, Dr. Lowdermilk says that the River Jordan could irrigate 300,000 acres and develop power facilities having a minimum capacity of from 76,000 to 110,000 kilowatts, with an installed capacity of twice these amounts. Additional power generated in connection with other projected irrigation schemes would bring the total to 150,000 kilowatts. This capacity, he says, "would be sufficient to serve the needs of well over 1,000,000 additional population."

In such a development Dr. Lowdermilk sees great benefits to the Arabs of both Transjordan and Palestine. Recalling that Transjordan was once one of the graneries of Rome, he points to the fact that today 80 per cent of the country is desert or semi-arid. He believes that under the JVA 200,000 acres of Transjordan could be irrigated, with an estimated increase of at least 50 per cent in agricultural production.

Dr. Lowdermilk proposed that the JVA should be financed jointly by the United Nations and public Jewish organizations, as well as by private capital, and should be administered under a quasi-public authority. He expresses complete confidence in the ultimate ability of the project to pay for itself.

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